Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus

FROM THE CYPRIOT *BASILEIS* TO THE HELLENISTIC *STRATEGOS*

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GIORGOS PAPANTONIOU

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By

Giorgos Papantoniou

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Στη μητέρα μου …
Για όλα όσα δεν μπόρεσα να εκφράσω με λόγια …

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PREFACE

It may perhaps be useful for the reader if I explain some terminological and editorial considerations I had in mind when writing this monograph.

The term *Basileus* is used invariably when referring to any Cypriot king of any period and any city-kingdom of the pre-hellenistic period, in order to avoid any conflation or confusion with the Ptolemaic kings.

Bearing in mind the problematic nature of the term 'Iron Age', an effort is made to avoid it. However, when I use it, I usually include within it the Hellenistic period, based on the established Cypriot chronological scheme proposed by Gjerstad.[1] According to this chronological scheme, the Cypriot 'Iron Age' comprises the island's Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. I have slightly modified the chronological scheme, based on the stage of current research. Particularly, regarding the Hellenistic period I have included two sub-divisions. I consider as Hellenistic I the phase between 310 BC (when the last Cypriot *Basileus* is dead) and 217 BC (when we have the first secure evidence for *Strategia*), and as Hellenistic II the phase between 217 BC and 30 BC (the death-date of the last members of the Ptolemaic dynasty).

Apart from when referring to absolute chronological events, and since the Cypriot chronological system—as discussed below—is based primarily on stylistic sequences, it should be stressed that chronological references are employed as relative. It is indeed entirely unrealistic to speak in other terms when dealing primarily with religious assemblages of unstratified objects. Additionally, there are several more problems involved in arranging Cypriot religious assemblages in an absolute chronological form, precisely because of the problematic nature of some important epigraphic and textual evidence, and particularly that of the excavation reports.[2] Such a chronological approach, however, is not inconsistent with the diachronic survey proposed here, identifying how the long-term shifts are constituted by short and medium-term ones.

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1 *SCE* 1: xvi; 4(3): 71–79, 220–237; cf. the volume entitled 'Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age', which includes the historic periods up to the Roman one: Tatton-Brown 1989.

2 Bennett 1980, 694–695.

The translations of ancient texts have been drawn from *Loeb Classical Library*; otherwise, the source is indicated. When trying to offer a precise translation of an inscription, the source is also cited. In the transliteration of classical literature (i.e. mythological and historical names) when available, I have usually followed the *OCD*. I have followed Hill in transliterating the names of the Cypriot *Basileis*, but Teixidor in transliterating those in Phoenician.[3] For the transliteration of the names of ancient authors and their works I have followed those of *LSJ* and *OLD*. Exceptions are made in cases where anglicised names are commonly used in the literature (e.g. Plutarch, Arrian). In the transliteration of Greek, most Latinate forms of Greek words or proper names that have come into general use have been employed (e.g. Cleopatra). In order to standardise the spelling of other Greek names or sites/toponyms I have followed the system recommended in *AR* 45 (1998–1999). Exceptions to these rules are made in cases where anglicised place-names have long been in use (e.g. Rhodes, Athens) or for sites where their spelling has long been established by excavators and/or other archaeologists (e.g. Bamboula, Agia Irini, Voni, Amargeti). Isolated words in foreign languages or technical terms have been italicised, except where they have been deemed to be familiar words and phrases to the general public (e.g. agora, gymnasium, kouros, kore).

3 Hill 1964; Teixidor 1976.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General

ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
CAARI	Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute

Bibliography

AAA	*Ἀρχαιολογικά ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ᾽ Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens Annals of Archaeology)
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ActaArch	Acta archaeologica [Copenhagen]
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America
AKEP	Hadjioannou, K. *Ἡ Ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς Πηγάς* (Nicosia 1971–1980b)
ANRW	Temporini, H. ed. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.* (Berlin 1972–)
Antiquity	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
AntK-BH	Antike Kunst. Beiheft
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AR	Archaeological Reports (supplement to *JHS*)
ARDAC	Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
ASLU	Archaeological Studies Leiden University
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCH Suppl.	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément
BiblArch	Biblical Archaeologist
BibO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review [online]
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CCEC	Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes
CJ	Classical Journal
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology
EKEE	Επετηρίδα, Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Κύπρου

ÉPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
FHG	Müller, K. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Frankfurt 1975, repr. of 1841–1938 eds)
Focus	Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JMS	Journal of Mediterranean Studies
JPR	Journal of Prehistoric Religion
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
Kadmos	Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik
Kernos	Kernos. Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique
Ktema	Ktema. Civilisation de l'orient de la Grèce et de Rome antiques
Levant	Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British institute at Amman for Archaeology and History
LibSt	Libyan Studies
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich and Munich 1974–)
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford 1940)
Mnemosyne	Mnemosyne. Supplements (formerly Bibliotheca classica batava)
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology (formerly *BiblArch*)
Numen	Numen. International review for the history of religions
OCD	Hornblower, S., and A. Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford 1996)
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford 1982)
OpArch	Opuscula Archaeologica
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
RÉG	Revue des études grecques
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SCE	Gjerstard, E., et al. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*. (Stockholm 1934–1972)
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SIMA-PB	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature. Pocketbook
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie
Trans	Transeuphratène
UMI	University Microfilms (Ann Arbor)
WorldArch	World Archaeology

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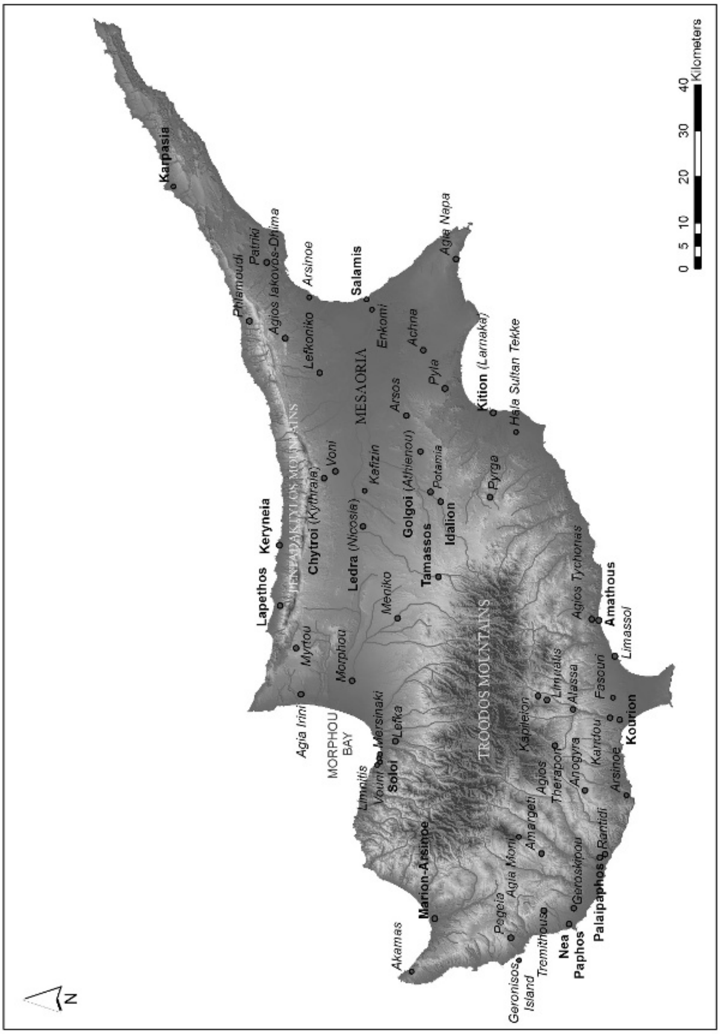
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Cultural Period	*Period Sub-divisions*	*Date Range*
Late Bronze Age or Late Cypriot	Late Cypriot I–IIIA	ca. 1700–1125/1100 BC
Early Iron Age	Late Cypriot IIIB	ca. 1125/1100–1050 BC
	Cypro-Geometric I	ca. 1050–950 BC
	Cypro-Geometric II	ca. 950–900 BC
	Cypro-Geometric III	ca. 900–750 BC
The Cypriot City-Kingdoms	Cypro-Archaic I	ca. 750–600 BC
	Cypro-Archaic II	ca. 600–480 BC
	Cypro-Classical I	ca. 480–400 BC
	Cypro-Classical II	ca. 400–310 BC
Hellenistic	Hellenistic I	ca. 310–217 BC
	Hellenistic II	ca. 217–30 BC
Roman	Roman I–II	ca. 30 BC – 330 AD
Late Roman/Early Byzantine	Roman III	ca. 330 AD – 650 AD

MAP OF CYPRUS



Map of Cyprus with the sites mentioned
in the text (designed by V. Trigkas)

INTRODUCTION

> AND an old priest said, speak to us of Religion.
> And he said:
> Have I spoken this day of aught else?
> Is not religion all deeds and all reflection,
> And that which is neither deed nor reflection, but a wonder and a surprise ever springing in the soul, even while the hands hew the stone or tend the loom?
> Who can separate his faith from his actions, or his belief from his occupations? …
> Your daily life is your temple and your religion.
> Whenever you enter into it take with you all.
> Take the plough and the forge and the mallet and the lute,
> The things you have fashioned in necessity or for delight.
> For in reverie you cannot rise above your achievements nor fall lower than your failures.
>
> (Gibran 2002, 87–88)

> Axiothea, the wife of Nikokles, on learning of her husband's death, slew her daughters, who were unwed, in order that no enemy might possess them; and she urged the wives of Nikokles' brothers to choose death along with her, although Ptolemy had given no instructions in regard to the women but had agreed to their safety. When the palace had thus been filled full of death and unforeseen disaster, the brothers of Nikokles, after fastening the doors, set fire to the building and slew themselves. Thus the house of the kings of Paphos, after meeting such tragic suffering, was brought to its end in the way described.
>
> (Diodorus 20.21.2–3)

From *Basileis* to *Strategos*: 'Minding the Gap'

This work was originally conceived as an attempt to understand the transition from the era of the Cypriot city-kingdoms to the Hellenistic period through the evidence provided by the archaeological record. More specifically, to understand how *l'histoire événementielle*, namely the political transition from segmented administration by many Cypriot kings, the *Basileis*, to the unitary island-wide government by a foreign Ptolemaic correspon-

dent, the *Strategos*, affected the socio-cultural infrastructure, the *mentalité*, of the island. Although this remains its primary purpose, acknowledging the fundamental role of religion in ancient societies and the existing availability of the archaeological record under discussion, it has been deemed most appropriate to approach the horizon of the transition by focusing on the 'archaeology of religion' in relation to 'social power' (terms which will receive further discussion and elaboration below), or, put simply, through understanding both political change and long-term continuities within regimes of social power and their religious material nature.

Our introductory passage from Diodorus, which describes the demise of the royal house of the *Basileus* of Paphos Nikokles, describes a pivotal and meaningful moment of Cypriot political history, which is both specific to this *Basileus* and representative of the island-wide changes: the end of the Cypriot city-kingdoms. The exact political, social and cultural organisation of Hellenistic Cyprus, and particularly of the early years, remains unknown. However, as a rule, scholarship has presented the transition from *Basileia* (the pre-Hellenistic Cypriot city-state kingship) to *Strategia* (the unitary island-wide government by the *Strategos*) as a narrative chronicle of events, where there is either little explicit explanation of why and how cultural elements changed, or where there are 'monocausal' explanations deriving from the simplistic assumption that political change is equal to socio-cultural change. In other words, the island's development from the era of the city-kingdoms to the Hellenistic period—as in earlier or later periods—has usually been regarded as exogenous, motivated mainly by a series of external political, military and cultural disruptions. Moreover, usually, under the influence of the catch-all term 'Graeco-Roman' (a term mainly deriving from Roman sculptural copies and the involvement of Greek and Roman elements in other forms of art as well),[1] and of the lack of archaeological visibility, Hellenistic Cyprus has primarily been regarded in relation (if not in unification) to Roman Cyprus.[2]

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[1] Pollitt 1986, 150. 'Graeco-Roman culture', actually includes cultural elements commonly found in the Mediterranean world during the late Hellenistic-Roman period, but were not necessarily perceived as culturally 'Greek' or 'Roman' by contemporary Mediterranean people: see Lee 2003, 9.

[2] The case of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition vol. 4, part 3, for instance, should be considered: it is titled 'The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus' and the writers usually refer to sanctuaries, domestic and public buildings, tombs etc., with no explicit determination as if they belonged to a unified material culture. Considering that this work forms *the* reference book for any student of Cypriot archaeology, it is needless to elaborate more on its affect on modern scholarship.

The transition from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period has been investigated more closely than before by various scholars in a conference organised and published by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities.[3] The necessary concentration on specific sites or material evidence, has led to the prevention of interpretations addressing the consequences of this transition to the island as a whole. While, in terms of approach, the mainstream of the volume remains closer to an *histoire événementielle*, it offers very interesting material, which greatly expands our knowledge and understanding of the period. The forward by the former Director of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, however, clearly illustrates the *communis opinio* on Hellenistic Cyprus, prevailing to date among many scholars working on the island: The Hellenistic period, is considered as a period of decline for 'authentic' Cypriot culture and art; a new society was created, "with completely different parameters and mores than the previous one".[4]

Although one should accept that these statements are not without supporting evidence, and without trying to imply that a completely objective account could be offered, one should acknowledge some simplistic and biased stereotypical preconceptions. As Erskine rightly stresses, "our ideas of change and continuity, are themselves dependent on emphasis and perspective".[5] What is missing from such reconstructions is the fact that both the incomers and the existing population, which was the majority, had their own decided and dynamic views about their culture and the uses of their past. Change, although perhaps easier to notice in the archaeological record—and therefore more prevailing in archaeological essays—is not an overnight phenomenon. As Gamble nicely puts it, "change is only one side of the coin. On the reverse is stasis. When the coin is flipped it is this side that dominates the archaeological record".[6] To understand the transition it is essential to grasp both. Explanation of change has usually concentrated on ruptures, which have been preferred to gradual mutations and adaptations.[7] Nonetheless, "it is time for ancient historians and archaeologists to reassess change—indeed to reinstate it".[8]

The innovation of this project lies in looking at Hellenistic Cyprus by paying equal attention (if not more) to what happened *before* and *inside* the

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[3] Flourentzos 2007a.
[4] Flourentzos 2007b, viii.
[5] Erskine 2003, 3.
[6] Gamble 2004, 155.
[7] Purcell 2005, 267.
[8] Purcell 2005, 267.

island, rather than looking at it primarily in relation to the 'Roman' and the 'exogenous'. While other 'imperial' contexts, including the Hellenistic one, have recently begun to shift away from a focus on mere political and socio-economic organisation, emphasising the more vigorous role of religion and ideology, students of Cypriot Hellenistic history and archaeology have usually faced religion simply as a subsystem of life, instead of as an "overarching framework for other aspects of life".[9] As the quote from Gibran's *Prophet* in the beginning of this monograph maintains, by projecting back to the period of the city-kingdoms this work aims to bring into focus this aspect of religion in Cypriot Hellenistic society. When dealing with phenomena of cultural contact and social change, one needs to reconstruct in the best way the background of the changing societies and cultures, as they existed prior to the contact. By employing explanatory models related to social power, it is argued that the island's development from the era of the city-kingdoms to the Hellenistic period is the result of interplay between dynamics and processes as much within as outside the Cypriot cultural system. Although we are interested in identifying Ptolemaic elements in the Cypriot archaeological record, we should also be concerned not to neglect the Cypriots. In the context of emphasising local structures, the term *Strategos*, instead of the 'Ptolemies' has been included in the title of the present monograph.

The analysis of the transition's character can be better formulated by abandoning the concept of linear time in favour of multi-temporality and medium/long-term processes. In other words a 'more human', 'more personal' time needs to be employed.[10] Searching for a diachronic understanding of the phenomena and not the events, emphasis is given to drawing upon all the relevant types of evidence and a wide range of approaches in order to develop as clear as possible a picture of the transition. A methodological approach which pays equal attention to—and accounts for simultaneously—exogenous and endogenous, continuity and change, locals and foreigners, elites and non-elites, is employed in order to break linearity. What is proposed is an explanation of the transition from *Basileia* to *Strategia* which does not primarily look for the facts of the events, but rather for *patterns* of human behaviour, and which considers the island diachronically, and above all starts from the island itself.

The main areas that will be considered throughout this work relate to social change from *Basileis* to *Strategos* investigated through the prism of

[9] Insoll 2004a, 22.
[10] Gamble 2005, 135.

social power and the archaeology of religion. A belief system, as it relates to the supernatural, is also related to the social reality of the culture, and as Renfrew notes, one does not need to follow all the assumptions deriving from the writings of Marx to see that there is much to his idea about the use of religion as part of the ideological superstructure.[11] In addition to the problems of archaeological visibility of pre-Roman levels in the Cypriot urban centres, it is within this spirit and belief that the archaeology of religion has been selected as the most prominent aspect of the archaeological record to reveal elements of social power and change.

Specifically, the main research questions that I aim to explore through a discussion of landscapes and material culture are listed below. Nonetheless, it should be kept in mind that in inserting landscapes and artefacts into contexts we inevitably "find ourselves in an hermeneutic circle which can never be completely described".[12] Although there may also be other important questions, these posed here set the 'hermeneutical circle' rolling:

- How was power and ideology expressed at a political and social level in the two phases, i.e. the city-kingdoms and the Hellenistic period, on Cyprus?
- How did this expression affect people, landscapes and objects at a micro-level in their daily lives and at the macro-level of island culture?
- What were the reactive strategies and negotiating mechanisms through the phases of change?
- How and to what extent is the transition from *Basileia* to *Strategia*, and the subsequent enrolment of Cyprus in the so-called Hellenistic *koine* revealed in the archaeological record of sacred space?
- How does the interplay between sacred and secular space—if such a clear dichotomy exists when examining ancient societies—help us understand the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*?
- How might change and continuity in the archaeology of religion be connected to social power?
- How can Cyprus serve as a case-study for understanding Hellenistic 'hellenisation' processes *in toto*?

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11 Renfrew 1994a, 49–50.
12 Tilley 1993, 9.

CHAPTER ONE

'SETTING THE SCENE': HISTORICAL NARRATIVES, THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND A METHODOLOGY FOR INTERPRETATION

1.1. From *Basileis* to *Strategos*: Telling the Story

The Cypriot *Basileia* remains a fundamental historico-archaeological problem. However, recent scholarship, and particularly the work of Iacovou, has greatly contributed to the understanding of the institution, politically and culturally.[1] An outline of the existing scholarly debate on the formation of the Cypriot city-kingdoms is outside the scope of this work.[2] By the early Cypro-Archaic period, however, the first intra-island epigraphic testimony which identifies the eponymous state leaders of these city-kingdoms is encountered.[3] Two seventh/sixth century BC syllabic Greek inscriptions, one on a silver plate, the other on a pair of gold arm bracelets, identify two individuals as the kings of Paphos. The term used for their office is *Basileus*. Inscribed only in syllabic Greek (*Pa-si-le-wo-se*) up to the end of the fifth century BC, and also in alphabetic Greek during the fourth century BC, the Cypriot ruler's official title was invariably *Basileus*; as Iacovou notes, even the last king of the so-called Eteocypriot Amathous, the Greek-named Androkles, and Pumiyaton, the last king of the Cypro-Phoenician

[1] See particularly Iacovou 2000; 2002a; 2003; 2004a; 2006a; 2006b; 2007a; 2007c; 2008a; 2008b.

[2] Rupp 1987; 1989; 1998; Snodgrass 1988; 1994; 1995; Petit 2001. For a detailed analysis of the scholarly debate up to the nineties see Steel 1993; Zournatzi 1996; Swinton 1996, 89–94 and Fourrier 1999, 112–114; and more recently Knapp 2008, 290–297; Blackwell 2010. The most recent accounts of the foundation of the Cypriot polities and their process of state formation has been given by Iacovou: 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2001; 2002a; 2003; 2005a; 2006a, 47–48; 2006b; 2007c, 16–17; 2008a, 259–260; 2008b. Although many issues related to the Cypriot city-kingdoms' cultural and political environment remain open, a number of problems and future possibilities, addressed earlier by Reyes (1997) and Rupp (1997), have since moved in a very positive direction, either through the work of the various excavation and survey projects, or through the interpretative work of individual scholars.

[3] Iacovou 2006a, 47; 2006b where the author follows the origin and development of the Cypriot *Basileia*.

dynasty of Kition, who had never abandoned their Semitic names, identified their office with this Greek term.[4]

Although it should be accepted that each city-kingdom might have had its own individual particularities in the way that the Cypriot cultural system was manifested, at the same time striking 'homogeneities' in their material culture, specific to each age and beyond the 'tyranny of ethnic identifications',[5] have been proven beyond question for the Early Iron Age,[6] and can clearly be applied to the later periods. In addition, as Iacovou states, the Cypriot *Basileia*, although it underwent various stages of development, "was never but one homogeneous institution";[7] that said, it is clear that our research questions regarding the transition from *Basileia* to *Strategia* can be addressed in a more generic manner, producing a general argument which could apply to the whole island.

Let us now examine briefly the historical context of this transitional period.[8] The main available sources and evidence for tracing the political context of the transition are literary, Arrian (*Anabasis* 1.16) and Diodorus Siculus (19–20),[9] epigraphic and numismatic. During the war of Alexander the Great against the Persians, the Cypriot city-kingdoms were still part of the Achaemenid empire. Although paying tributes to the Persian monarch, they never lost their political status and independence.[10] In 333 BC most

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[4] Iacovou 2006b, 316.

[5] Iacovou 2005b.

[6] Iacovou 1999a, 141–166; 2006a, 40–41, 44; 2008a, 248; 2008b, 634–635. For the use of the term 'Early Iron Age' see Iacovou 1999a; 2002a; 2006a, 28, note 6.

[7] Iacovou 2006b, 330.

[8] For the political history of the Cypriot transition see Avraamides 1971, 10–20; Stylianou 1989; 2000, 606–613; Mehl 2000, 623–651; Collombier 1993. For brief accounts which, however, combine more archaeological evidence see Tatton-Brown 1990a; 1990b; Karageorghis 1982, 167–173.

[9] It has to be admitted that the ancient authors who wrote about this period and the events that led to the abolition of the Cypriot city-kingdoms were not so interested in the fortune of Cyprus. What interested them more were the achievements of Alexander and the controversies of his *Diadochoi*. Even our main source, Diodorus Siculus is problematic because he mentions the island primarily with regard to the military and political history of the eastern Mediterranean: see Collombier 1993, 120; Stylianou 2000, 567–568, 612.

[10] Stylianou 1989, 416; 2000, 515–516; Raptou 1999, 238; Mehl 2004; Christodoulou 2006, 12; Iacovou 2007a, 464. Smith (2009, 251) has recently questioned the autonomy of Kition before the fall of the Assyrian Empire in 612 BC. Additionally, Zournatzi (2005) has cautioned against 'modern suppositions' of the island's special autonomy under the Achaemenid regime, emphasising that "the overall lack of evidence that plagues investigations of the subject provinces makes it difficult to address this question". She points to studies of other areas under the Persian empire that illustrate that "the problems of detecting a Persian presence

of the Cypriot *Basileis* changed side to support Alexander and assisted him in his naval siege of Tyre in the following year. Although there is evidence for some interference by Alexander in Cypriot politics, the Cypriot city-kingdoms survived with no difficulty the new political conditions that prevailed in the Eastern Mediterranean. As proof of this, the Cypriot *Basileis* continued to mint coins, sealing them with their names.

Following Alexander's death in 323 BC his *Diadochoi* (Successors) used the island as a battle-ground. The Cypriot *Basileis* were politically divided. Some of them joined the Antigonids and others the Ptolemies, obviously hoping that by allying themselves with either of the two parties, they would retain their independence. In the end, Ptolemy I prevailed in Cyprus. Epigraphic, literary, and, at least in the case of Kition, archaeological evidence is substantial enough to see the change and the simplification of the political map of the island even before the final abolition of the city-kingdoms:[11] finding that Pumiyaton of Kition was negotiating with Antigonus, Ptolemy put him to death; and he arrested Praxipos, *Basileus* of Lapethos and ruler of Keryneia,[12] whom he suspected being ill disposed toward himself; Stasioikos of Marion we can conclude suffered the worst, since Diodorus informs us that his city was fully destroyed and the inhabitants were transferred to Nea Paphos. After accomplishing those things, Ptolemy appointed Nikokreon, the *Basileus* of Salamis as general, *Strategos*, of the island, giving him both the city-kingdoms and the revenues of the *Basileis* who had been driven out (Diodorus, 19.79.4–5).

According to the Marmor Parium (*IG* 12, 5, 444 B 17), in 311/310 BC Nikokreon died and Ptolemy became the ruler of the island. Modern scholarship, encouraged by the fact that the ancient sources and epigraphy are not clear about these events, has sometimes attributed Diodorus' account of

and assessing modes of Persian control … surface repeatedly in investigations of other, demonstrably tightly controlled, territories of the Great Kings' realm": Zournatzi 2005, 61.

11 Collombier 1993, 132–138.

12 The report of Diodorus to a Keryneia ruler constitutes the only reference, which manifest such a status for the city. In other words, no other (epigraphic, monetary or archaeological evidence) has so far been discovered that would indicate that Keryneia existed as an autonomous city-kingdom and, particularly, contemporarily with the city-kingdom of Lapethos in the fourth century BC. On the contrary, the geographic proximity between Lapethos and Keryneia suggests that the two harbour cities belonged to the same political region (cf. Iacovou 2004a). Following the syntax in the Diodorus' sentence it can be suggested that he refers to the same individual, who is *basileus* of Lapethos and ruler of Keryneia. On the other hand, we have to consider Diodorus' inaccuracies when it comes to the description of Cypriot history.

the death of Nikokles of Paphos to Nikokreon instead.[13] Diodorus (20.21.1–3) informs us that Nikokles was forced by Ptolemy to commit suicide in the year after the death of Nikokreon, on suspicion of treasonable correspondence with Antigonus. The perception of this confusion in recent scholarship is very obvious. Many scholars follow Hill, who removes these events from Paphos to Salamis,[14] where a remarkable 'royal' cenotaph has been excavated on the outskirts of the city.[15] The existing evidence can lead us only to hypothetical assumptions, but it does not matter greatly from an archaeological point of view whether this story refers to Nikokles or Nikokreon.[16] How many Cypriot city-kingdoms there were and how long they survived is again a matter of speculation.[17] The shifting of power in the Mediterranean and on the island itself worked as a catalyst, and the end of the city-kingdom institution "was only a matter of time, not a matter of yes or no".[18]

The demise of the royal house of the *Basileus* Nikokles, as described by Diodorus in the introductory passage of this monograph, describes a pivotal and meaningful moment of Cypriot political history: the 'traumatic' closure of the Cypriot *Basileia*. Even if the so-called royal cenotaph of Salamis remains open to interpretation, the execution of the Cypriot *Basileis* is related to the political death of the city-kingdom tradition and the elimination of people's allegiance to regional centres of political identity.[19] The political institution of the territorial mini-states, which managed to survive the various clashes of internal (i.e., the local *Basileis*) and external forces (i.e., the Neo-Assyrians, perhaps the Egyptians,[20] the Persians, Alexander), was, for the first time in over half a millennium, removed. Iacovou clearly highlights the importance of this event: "Territorial boundaries were lifted,

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[13] For a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the problem see Hadjioannou *AKEP* 5: 156–158 and Collombier 1993, 138–141.

[14] Hill 1940, 161, note 1.

[15] Karageorghis 1969, 151–164; 1973, 128–202; Cheal 1978. For more recent interpretations of the Salamis 'royal cenotaph' see Buraselis 2007 and Baurain 2008.

[16] In fact, the thorough study of Gesche (1974) makes it clear that Diodorus was right; cf. Bagnall 1976, 40.

[17] Stylianou 2000, 613.

[18] Mehl 2004, 21.

[19] Iacovou 2007a, 464.

[20] The political relationship of Cyprus and Egypt during the Cypro-Archaic period is highly debatable and rests primarily on a problematic text by Herodotus (2.182.2). For a detailed analysis of the problem see Reyes 1994, 69–84, Iacovou 2007a, 463 and Mehl 2009; cf. Blackwell 2010, 159.

possibly for the first time since the second millennium, and the Cypriots [eventually] were forced to become citizens of a unified, but colonial state".[21]

As shown throughout this work, this political break, definitely, had 'irreversible consequences' for the study of the individual histories of the Iron Age polities.[22] It is only within the context of the *longue durée*, however, that these 'irreversible consequences' can be understood. Additionally, as shown in the following chapters, the epigraphic and historical records suggest that the crystallised unification of the island is not a sequential stage following the demise of the *Basileis*, but rather a slower process that can be better understood only after a detailed analysis of the textual record, and through comparisons with other Mediterranean contexts that underwent similar processes under Hellenistic imperial expansion.[23] Despite the absence of the *Basileis*, it is likely that we should allow for a degree of continuity of the administrative functions in the Cypriot cities, especially in the course of the third century BC.

Taking the year 306 BC as a *terminus ante quem*,[24] after the battle of Salamis between Ptolemy and Demetrius *Poliorcetes*, Cyprus passed to the Antigonids and we hear nothing further about city-kingdoms and *Basileis*. This date is also confirmed by numismatic evidence; this is the last possible year that the Cypriot *Basileis* could have minted coins.[25] In 294 BC Cyprus was regained by Ptolemy I. Apart from a short period in the second century BC, the island remained in Ptolemaic hands for two and a half centuries. It has been suggested that during the first century of Ptolemaic rule, Cyprus' main role was that of a protective shield for the Ptolemaic territories in Syria.[26] The situation changed from the last quarter of the third century BC when the Ptolemies lost their last naval bases in the Aegean and when they had to leave the Southern part of Syria (Coele Syria) after 199 BC. Cyprus then, which was their last possession outside Egypt, became the main base of their fleet and a new defensive network was put in place.[27] This is the time when a crystallised unifying administrative system is supported by state

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21 Iacovou 2007a, 464.

22 Iacovou 2007a, 465.

23 A detailed analysis is currently being undertaken by P. Keen, who is completing his doctoral research on the epigraphic record of Hellenistic Cyprus at the University of Chicago.

24 Collombier 1993, 127.

25 Bagnall 1976, 188–189. For the Cypriot coinage during the fourth century BC see Destrooper-Georgiades 2007a.

26 Balandier 2007, 153.

27 Balandier 2002.

ideology, as shown from the epigraphic record (see particularly ch. 2.4.2 and Appendix 2, Table 1). The possession of Cyprus, as an important source of timber for shipbuilding (as well as human experience in sailing due to the long tradition established within the multiple commercial and military fleets of the autonomous city-kingdoms),[28] corn and copper, became vital for the Ptolemies for strategic, military and economic reasons.[29] Additionally, the importance of Cyprus becomes clear in the second century BC, during the dynastic struggles, as the island was a place of refuge for politically unwanted members of the Ptolemaic royal family.

Cyprus was eventually organised under the overall control of the *Strategos* (Governor- General), who was directly responsible to the Ptolemies.[30] The *Strategoi* were non-Cypriots and were chosen from the elite circle close to the royal family through a process of hereditary transmission of titles and functions, as the epigraphic evidence informs us. In the late third/early second century BC, the *Strategos* also received the title of *Archiereus* (High-Priest) and from the mid-second century BC that of *Nauarchos* (Admiral of the fleet). Ultimately, each city housed an *epi tes poleos* (a governor of the city) or a *phrourachos* (commander of the garrison), who was responsible to the *strategos* although his functions remain unclear.[31] As it will further be demonstrated in the following chapters the Cypriot epigraphic evidence of the Hellenistic II period suggests the existence on the island of a court like that of Alexandria.[32] The contrast between the epigraphic uniformity in the second century BC and the lack of uniformity of the third century BC, according to Bagnall, suggests the systemisation of Ptolemaic administration on the island and fits well with the historical events that restrained the power of Ptolemies in the Aegean and the broader Mediterranean.[33] By the end of the

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[28] Hauben 1987; Stieglitz 1997; Mehl 2000, 670; Shipley 2000, 206; Anastassiades 2001a, 226; Iacovou 2010, 19. It is worth noting that in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos Ptolemy *Philadelphus* erected a statue in honour of his naval architect Pyrgoteles; for the inscription see Mitford 1961a, 9, no. 17 and Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 108, 74.

[29] Bagnall 1976, 73–79; Mehl 2000, 715–727; Anastassiades 2003b, 115; Balandier 2009, 92. For a summary of archaeological, epigraphic and textual evidence for the importance of copper and timber in ancient Cyprus see Raptou 1996.

[30] For the role of *Strategia* in Ptolemaic administration see Bagnall 1976.

[31] Bagnall (1976, 49–50, 222–223) critiques the prevailing view that *phrourarchos* has a meaning similar to that of *epi tes poleos*. According to scholarship due to the harsher connotations of the first term, the latter came into use at the expense of more military designation. In Bagnall's opinion, however, *phrourachos* is a military rank, not an office.

[32] For the central role of the court in ancient empires, including that of Alexander see Spawforth 2007.

[33] Bagnall 1976, 244.

Hellenistic period the administration must have had interest in asserting its control on the island more effectively, as can be deduced from the establishment of a more complex road communication in the island's entirety, for example.[34] In times of dynastic disorder, or even of divided power, Nea Paphos served as a shelter to Ptolemies exiled from Alexandria, or as the capital of an independent kingdom.[35]

Bagnall's thorough study of the administration of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt, and more specifically of the *Strategia* in Cyprus, clearly illustrates one central aspect of the problem of understanding the transition:[36] Diodorus' account on early Hellenistic history in Cyprus has generated the assumption that the *Strategos* must have held such a central and important role in the Ptolemaic administration from the beginning of Ptolemy I's domination; the lack of epigraphic evidence for a *Strategos* in the early and middle third century has usually been attributed to the deficiency of evidence.[37] Nonetheless, attention should be given to the difficulty in attempting to extract technical terminology from ancient historians, and especially from Diodorus; therefore, a distinction between official titles and words used to describe the nature of a person's activity should be made.[38] In Diodorus' words, Ptolemy made Nikokreon *Strategos* of Cyprus in 312 BC. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy I, is already designated *Strategos* of the military forces in Cyprus by Diodorus in 315 BC. If Diodorus's terminology is accurate, one must assume either that Menelaus was replaced by Nikokreon in 312 BC, only to regain his place on the *Basileus*' death in 310 BC, or that there were two men with the title *Strategos* operating on the island at the same time, which is surprising, not to say strange, and completely at odds with the sense of *Strategia*. Additionally, according to Mehl, one could also consider the story that a rather late (second century AD) however source (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.576) tells us that the last *Basileus* of Soloi, Eunostos, was married to Eirene, the daughter of Ptolemy *Soter*,

34 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 230.

35 Młynarczyk 1996, 193.

36 Bagnall 1976, 38–49. Caution regarding the use of the term *Strategos* in relation to this early period has also been expressed by other scholars concerned with this period: e.g. Avraamides 1971, 15, who regards the *Strategia* of Nikokreon probably only as 'an empty title'; Vraha 1984, 41–50; Collombier, 1993, 138; Młynarczyk 1990, 108; Stylianou 1989, 489–490; 2000, 612, even though he tends to accept the *communis opinio*, which sees Nikokreon and Menelaus as the first political *Strategoi* of the island; Mehl 2000, 675–688.

37 Bagnall 1976, 38–39.

38 Bagnall 1976, 41–42.

thus retaining his *Basileia*; in that case, Menelaus, could not have been a *Strategos* for the whole island.[39]

The coinage of the period makes the situation even more problematic. Both Nikokreon and Menelaus appear on coins of similar type, bearing the same title: BA (for the word *Basileus*) appears on Nikokreon's coins in Greek letters. After the death of Nikokreon, Menelaus minted very similar coins, not only with the head of Aphrodite wearing a turreted crown on the obverse, but also using the same weight system and script. The Cypriot syllabic character for the sound *ba* stands for *Basileus*, following the letters MEN in alphabetic script.[40] The usage of the syllabic script, especially on coins, symbols of power and validity, by a Ptolemaic correspondent and the usage of a similar type of coinage could be explained through a social and meaningful process. As discussed below, the association of items with a previous cultural context affects the use of that item within a new context. Additionally, this could be seen in analogy with other geographic contexts, where the main socio-economic and administrative structures—at least in the first years of the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic period—function under the sign of continuity.[41] Mehl makes a clear case that the political changes that happened during the period of Ptolemaic rule in Cyprus are more extensive than we know or suppose.[42] Therefore, only new documentary evidence is likely to allow us to speak with confidence about the *Strategia* before the end of the third century BC, and, more specifically, before 217 BC. In other words, based on the existing evidence, the year 217 BC marks the beginning of a new phase for Hellenistic Cyprus: this is the time when a more unitary administration can be clearly noted on the island. I, therefore, regard the period before 217 BC as Hellenistic I, and the period after as Hellenistic II. It is possible, that during the Hellenistic I period, many city-kingdom administrative mechanisms (unfortunately unknown to us by the epigraphic record) continued and incorporated within the Ptolemaic regime.[43] As further detailed below, one of the main Ptolemaic strategies is the adoption of different administrative policies in each geographic area, according to local conditions and the nature of Ptolemaic interests.

Nonetheless, beyond the political value of the terms *Basileis* and *Strategos*, what is of more interest from a historico-archaeological point of view

39 Mehl 2000, 679.
40 Destrooper-Georgiades 2007a, 272 and Markou 2007, 286.
41 e.g. Joanneès 2006; Stolper 2006.
42 Mehl 2000, 659.
43 I am grateful to P. Keen for our endless discussions on this particular issue.

is the extraction of the socio-cultural systems which surrounded these positions. Moving beyond this critical explanation of terminology and the micro-historic events associated with the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, and the transition from segmented to unitary government and administration, this monograph does not aim to focus on politico-economic narratives, as asserted by epigraphic and other textual evidence.[44] An understanding of the transition primarily implies an understanding of continuities and interruptions, or otherwise, changes and variations. This is where linear and chronometric time proves to be a limiting way to think about the past, and therefore the concepts of temporality, spatiality and materiality, terms that will receive further attention below, need to be employed in order to formulate the best possible responses to our research questions.

1.2. Continuities and Interruptions: Towards an Archaeology of Religion

The case of Cyprus in the first millennium BC has shown that the archaeology of the historic periods of the island throws up equally complex problems of interpretation as does its prehistory. Many historians and archaeologists working on Cyprus are aware of remarkable patterns of continuities and interruptions in the socio-cultural environment of the island, but few have made such questions the focus of their research, contextualising the existing evidence, and at the same time acknowledging the complexity of the issue. Perceiving sanctuaries as instrumental in forming the worldview of the ancient Cypriots, we need to try to understand how meanings and identities were expressed in, or created by, their topographical setting and their material depositions and dedications. Political changes are usually reflected on the material record of Cypriot sanctuaries; in fact, as shown below, the best archaeological evidence regarding the transition can be extracted from this record.

The first consistent account of the social and cultural transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* has been given by Collombier.[45] While in the first two parts of her work she deals with the political interference of Alexander and *Diadochoi* in the affairs of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, in the last part

[44] These issues have overtly been treated by other scholars; see particularly Stylianou (1989; 2000) for the city-kingdom period and Mehl (2000) for the Hellenistic one. P. Keen is currently re-addressing several of these issues.

[45] Collombier 1993.

she is concerned with permanencies and transformations in the Cypriot socio-cultural system and she concludes: the Ptolemaic conquest marks a radical rupture in the political history of the island. The transformations that this conquest brings in other fields, however, lie in previous Cypriot traditions and evolutions.[46] In language and script, cities and sanctuaries, we find elements permanent to the Cypriot identity, which continue under Ptolemies, accommodating features which also testify to a 'hellenisation' whose movement started very early in the history of the island.[47]

The first instruments that Collombier uses in her effort to explore the long-term continuities and complexities that exist in the Cypriot cultural tradition are language and script.[48] The abolition of the city-kingdom states signalled the process of death for trilingualism (the end of Phoenician and Eteocypriot) and achieved linguistic administrative coherence;[49] but the Greek which eventually became the island's administrative language was not the same Greek that had been spoken in Cyprus, epigraphically attested at least since the eleventh/tenth century BC.[50] It was the Greek *koine*, written in the Greek alphabet and no longer in the Cypriot syllabary. It has to be said, however, that by the fourth century BC, before the abolition of the city-kingdoms, many Cypriot *Basileis*, such as Euagoras of Salamis or Androkles of Amathous, introduced the Greek alphabet to the island on documents directly related with the expression of their political ideology, mainly on coins and dedications in sanctuaries. Moreover, a century after Ptolemaic domination on the island, the utilisation of three writing systems, Phoenician (in a more confined level), syllabic Greek and alphabetic Greek in sanctuaries and private life is striking.[51] The finds from the grotto sanctuary of Kafizin constitute the most impressive expression of Cypriot identity:[52] in the last quarter of the third century BC, Cypriot potters digraphically

[46] Collombier 1993, 141.
[47] Collombier 1993, 147.
[48] Collombier 1993, 142–143; cf. Collombier 2003, 140–142.
[49] Iacovou 2006a, 56–57; 2008a, 250–252.
[50] Iacovou 2006a, 38. The appearance the Arkado-Cypriot Greek dialect is attested for the first time on a bronze *obelos* (a skewer) inscribed in the Cypriot syllabary with the Greek name of Opheltas. It was found in tomb 49 at the Palaepaphos-Skales cemetery: Karageorghis 1983, 61, no. 16; Masson and Masson 1983, 411–415; Palaima 1991; Masson 1994.
[51] Collombier 1993, 143; Iacovou 2008a, 256.
[52] Mitford 1950a; 1951; 1979; 1980a; Hadjioannou 1982. For the influence of the Cypriot dialect in the alphabetic script see Brixhe 1988; Hermary 2006a, 67. Kafizin, however, is not a unique case: e.g. votive reliefs inscribed in Cypro-syllabic, dated to the third century BC, have been found elsewhere: see Masson 1961, 46–47, 80; Willets 1988, 42; Collombier 1991a, 433; Karageorghis 2000c, 256–257; Iacovou 2008a, 256.

inscribed earthen pots, both in alphabet and in syllabary. In the first century BC, an even more 'unexpected' phenomenon has to be faced: neither from a sanctuary, nor from a necropolis, the latest known use of the syllabic script is found on sealings (originally used on papyri) accidentally preserved by a fire in the very archives (the so-called *Nomophylakion*) of the late Ptolemaic/early Roman administrative centre at Nea Paphos.[53] This phenomenon might not be as unexplained or as unique as we think. Evidence from both the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires suggest that local languages and scripts continued to be used in administration.[54] Even if the existing evidence is admittedly very limited and problematic, we should probably consider that a similar phenomenon might also be applied in the case of Cyprus. Until the discovery of more evidence and the final publication of the Nea Paphos sealings, we cannot be conclusive. Nevertheless, reviewing more closely the Kafizin evidence in relation to the cult of the queen Arsinoe *Philadelphus* (ch. 2.4.2), I suspect that the use of the Cypro-syllabic script during the Hellenistic period was not confined only to private life.

The second area of evidence that Collombier uses to testify to these permanencies and transformations is the development of urban life.[55] By drawing attention to a number of literary and epigraphic sources (i.e. Diodorus, Pseudo-Scylax, the Delphic lists of *theorodokoi*, and a Ptolemaic inscription from Argos), she observes not only the continuation of the previous capitals of the city-kingdoms, but also the creation of new cities or settlements. The urban centres of the city-kingdoms indeed lost their mini-state administrative functions. However, with the exception of Marion, which was supposedly razed to the ground according to Diodorus (19.79.4)—but as yet, not clearly confirmed by the archaeological investigation at Polis Chrysochous[56]—to be rebuilt as Arsinoe later in the second century BC, and probably Golgoi (though most probably a secondary centre),[57] all the other centres continued together with their cemeteries. Although new cities were

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53 Nicolaou 1978; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1979; 1993; Bazemore 2002, 158. Additionally, architectural elements from the portico in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous and 'stamp-seals' from the Geronisos island dating to the first century BC might bear Cypro-syllabic signs: Hermary et al. 2006a, 40; Connelly and Plantzos 2006, 277; Connelly 2007a, 47.

54 Shipley 2000, 295; Grabbe 2002, 57–58.

55 Collombier 1993, 145–147.

56 Childs 1997. For some possible evidence of destruction by Ptolemy I see Childs 1988, 124–125; 2008, 68.

57 Bakalakis 1988, 143.

founded according to inscriptions[58] and the ancient geographers, mainly Strabo (14.6.3) and Ptolemaeus (*Geographia* 5.14.1–4), none grew very much in importance and monumentality, and it was the old city-kingdom capitals that continued to function as the economic and political nuclei of Ptolemaic and Roman Cyprus.[59] This statement is clearly illustrated when one thinks of the importance that Salamis, and later Nea Paphos, acquired during the Hellenistic period. After Salamis, Nea Paphos—most probably founded around 325–320 BC by the last *Basileus* of Paphos, Nikokles[60]—is the city that was to become the Hellenistic capital of Cyprus sometime at the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC.[61]

However, it should be mentioned that, with some sporadic exceptions (e.g. the *balaneion* and the fortification walls at Amathous, the Hellenistic buildings of Kourion and these under the villa of Dionysus at Nea Paphos, the city-walls and the theatre of Nea Paphos),[62] we remain completely ignorant in our effort to discover archaeologically the appearance of cities during the pre-Roman period, culturally and architecturally. It was long assumed that city institutions were relatively undeveloped in Cyprus before the Roman period. Rostovtzeff, for example, wrote that Cyprus, during the Hellenistic period, was one of "the provinces in which city life was undeveloped, or developed on Oriental lines".[63] Mitford, using epigraphic evidence related to Cypriot civic institutions and offices, has shown that this assumption was mistaken.[64] More recently, Hatzopoulos, discussing civic institutions in Hellenistic Cyprus, has shown that, instead of 'break' and 'continuity', we should rather speak of 'transition' and 'adaptation'.[65] Before the closure of the city-kingdoms, Cyprus was 'hellenised' enough and ready to adapt hellenic forms of life and administration. Already by the very early Hellenistic period, we hear from inscriptions about polis institutions and public buildings, such as the gymnasium, agora and *boule*, even if the preserved remains, as far as can be ascertained from the various preliminary reports, are mainly

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58 e.g. *AKEP* 4(2): 64, no. 20.8.

59 Iacovou 2002a, 75.

60 On the early history of Nea Paphos see Daszewski 1987.

61 For a detailed analysis of the debate regarding the transfer of the capital from Salamis to Nea Paphos see Młynarczyk 1990, 121–129 and Mehl 2000, 686–687.

62 Aupert 1996b, 56; Balandier 2002; Christou 2007; 2008a, 65–66, 72–73; Green and Stennett 2002; Green 2007.

63 Rostovtzeff 1941, 339.

64 Mitford 1953a, 80–90. For further discussion see Bagnall 1976, 57–73; Mehl 2000, 691–712.

65 Hatzopoulos 2009.

of the Roman period. Additionally, already by the early Hellenistic period, the theatre, which becomes part of Greek identity, makes its appearance architecturally in Cyprus.[66]

Iacovou explains very clearly the lack of archaeological visibility with which we are confronted in our effort to understand the physiognomy of the pre-Roman cities.[67] "The historic centres of pre-Roman Cyprus have been the victims of their very own *longue durée*".[68] While we can follow the 'footprints' of prehistoric Cyprus comparatively easily because of the constant abandonment of residence sites, when we reach the eleventh century BC, Cypriots, precisely because of the continuation and the dynamics of their centres, never abandoned them again. Gradually, the pre-Roman strata were eradicated or buried deep under monumental structures erected during the Roman and Christian periods. Additionally, the earthquakes of the early Roman period have probably seriously damaged the pre-Roman strata.[69] Finally, access to the settlements, and even to the nuclei of some centres, has been greatly hampered by the continuation of the sites into the modern day. Modern building has affected most of the sites, at least their peripheries, but Kition, Marion and Ledra have suffered the most, since their administrative centres and the nuclei of their states seem to lie substantially under the modern towns.

It seems therefore that the best archaeological evidence regarding the transition can be extracted from the study of sanctuaries, the third avenue that Collombier follows when discussing cultural permanencies and transformations.[70] While we remain relatively ignorant regarding the archaeological physiognomy of the urban centres, their associated sacred spaces can contribute further evidence, especially with regard to social and cultural issues. Obviously, this constitutes one of the main reasons for choosing to approach the Cypriot transition through the archaeology of religion, moving from sanctuary to city.

If the sacred landscapes of the Cypriot city-kingdoms are examined from a political point of view, then space should be considered in relation to centre and territory, and if they are examined from an economic perspective, then space should be divided between urban and rural.[71] In the context

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66 Green and Stennett 2002; 2007. In this context, it also has to be said that there is a reasonable number of theatrical figurines from Cyprus from the period of the city-kingdoms.

67 Iacovou 2002a, 74–75.

68 Iacovou 2002a, 74.

69 Nicolaou 1990, 144; Guidoboni 1994, 177–178; Tatton-Brown 2000a, 341.

70 Collombier 1993, 143–144.

71 Fourrier 2002, 136.

of this monograph, based on the problematic nature of Cypriot evidence, such clear-cut categorisations, other than 'urban' and 'extra-urban', will be avoided or used cautiously/critically. While the majority of the main, large-scale urban sanctuaries seem to continue to be used without interruption from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, the extra-urban sanctuaries, according to Collombier, not only continue to be used from Cypro-Classical to Hellenistic times, but also experience a 'renaissance' at the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[72] Although this statement is quite true, it needs more attention, elaboration and modification, as shown in the following chapter, when examining the sacred landscapes in detail. In short, it should be mentioned that this renaissance of extra-urban cult-activity in the early Hellenistic period, could be explained within the context of life continuity and possibly of city-institutions supporting economy and administration, as well as within the context of a possible resistance to Ptolemaic incorporation; nonetheless, by the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC, when a more unitary government and administration is established on the island many of these sanctuaries are losing significance; accordingly, before the beginning of the Roman period, the majority of these extra-urban sanctuaries, which seem to have played an important role in the construction of the Cypriot Iron Age city-identities, decline.

Since the archaeology of sacred space will constitute our main focus, I find it necessary to recount briefly the history of fieldwork and research relating to the Cypriot sanctuaries and to engage with concerns and queries generated by earlier scholarly attitudes. In other words, we first need to explore how our perceptions and approaches to the past have shaped our understanding of ancient Cypriot cults. Then, we can reconsider and re-evaluate them through more recent excavation reports and the particular theoretical lens of social power and the archaeology of religion. In studying the archaeology of Cypriot religion, the development of research conducted into sanctuaries should be viewed in conjunction with the development of research on the style and function of Cypriot terracotta and limestone votives, which usually constitute their main votive deposits. What follows is a brief account of the history of research relating primarily to the archaeology of Cypriot sanctuaries, revealing the broad scholarly context within which the narrative from *Basileis* to *Strategos* was formulated and developed. The methodological limitations that these activities have created will also be addressed at the same time. Moving beyond the mere issues of early

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72 Collombier 1993, 144.

archaeological practice, academic training and perspective, all of which are analysed in the two following sections, another factor that clouds our efforts to reconstruct Cypriot history, and consequently the context of the transition, should be considered: i.e. the cessation of academic research in almost half of the island due to the Turkish occupation. Major urban Iron Age centres and their peripheries, such as Salamis, Lapethos and Soloi, since the invasion of 1974 still remain beyond any accessible scientific exploration, and have an unpredictable future.

1.3. History of Research, Methodological Problems and Limitations

Although our purpose is not to trace the development of Cypriot sanctuary architecture, it has to be said that up to the late Hellenistic period, when Greek-style monumental edifices are added to the archaeological sacred landscape of Cyprus, the variants of religious architecture, whether urban or extra-urban, follow mainly the traditional principle of indigenous religious structures tracing their origin in the Late Bronze Age and having been crystallised within the Early Iron Age:[73] a temenos with an open court, enclosed by a *peribolos* wall, with an altar and sometimes a rectangular room.[74] Consequently, in architectural terms the Cypriot sanctuary is, with few exceptions, disappointingly uninformative, and most of the excavated sites are poorly preserved. This lack of monumentality should be considered in conjunction with the antiquarian approaches of early explorations, which neglected important elements of cult, such as sacrifice, and were primarily interested in the creation of sculpture corpuses.[75] A great number of cult objects, mainly terracotta and limestone votives (figurines, statues and statuettes) and ritual equipment, have therefore been the target first of looters, and then, of large-scale 'archaeological exploration'.

Already by the Venetian, and later the Ottoman periods, private European collections had sporadically received or purchased material from ancient Cypriot sanctuary sites, resulting from agricultural activities or robbing which was practiced both by locals and by foreign visitors.[76] Treasure

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73 Papantoniou forthcoming.

74 For a schematic typology of the Iron Age Cypriot religious architecture see *SCE* 4(2): 17–23; Bennett 1980, 632–634. For further bibliography see Al-Radi 1983, 64–100; 157–165; Wright 1992a; 1992b, 255–273; Reyes 1994, 28–32; Collombier 1999.

75 Hermary 2001a, 12.

76 Hermary 1990a; Ulbrich 2001, 93–98; Counts 2001, 130–135.

hunting, 'archaeological explorations' and antiquities exports, the results of which found their way into many European museums, became more frequent in the course of the 19th century, during the continuous Ottoman and British rule over the island. Ulbrich, focusing on 'an archaeology of cult', offers the best account of these events;[77] I summarise below.

After Napoleon's military expeditions to Egypt, there followed an increase in the involvement of Europe and America in the Eastern Mediterranean region. It was primarily travellers and scholars, local and foreign collectors, diplomats and businessmen, who made stunning archaeological discoveries and purchases around the Mediterranean, including Cyprus, thereby creating the first large antiquities markets. With the great discoveries in the Near East in the first half of the 19th century, such objects became even more popular and ancient sites, primarily sanctuaries—though usually not identified as such at this early stage—were the centre of illicit and unrecorded digging.

During the general development of Classical and Near Eastern archaeology in the 19th century, the activities of the amateur scholar de Luynes and his acquisition of the famous bronze tablet of Idalion that made the eventual decipherment of the Cypro-syllabic script possible, sparked a new interest in Cypriot script and epigraphy.[78] French expeditions, usually financed by the French government, conducted the first real archaeological explorations in Cyprus. It is interesting to note that those expeditions were always connected with the Levant, the focal point of French archaeological activity, and common or similar finds from the two areas united the two cultures in the minds of French scholars,[79] creating misunderstandings still prevalent in the archaeological literature as seen in the following chapters, especially when examining the image of the 'Cypriot Goddess'. Issues of chronology and style were linked in studies of Cypriot sculpture from the outset, instigating a 'Phoenico-centric' attitude that characterised the publications of the succeeding generations.[80] During the campaigns of the 1860s, conducted by the orientalist de Vogue, the epigrapher Waddington and the architect Duthoit, five sanctuary sites at Athienou-Malloura, Golgoi-Agios Photios, Idalion and Arsos were excavated and exploited with antiquarian approaches and methods.[81] Impressive Cypriot sculptures found their way

77 Ulbrich 2001.
78 Masson 1961, 235–244.
79 Ulbrich 2001, 94, note 11.
80 Counts 2001, 141.
81 Ulbrich 2001, 93–94; Hermary 1989a, 14–17.

to the Louvre and, some of the pieces were published only later as isolated objects of art, devoid of their excavation contexts. Similar activities included the excavations of Colonna-Ceccaldi at a temenos on the eastern 'acropolis' of Idalion.

Sir Robert Hamilton Lang, after the excavation of a temenos at Idalion and Pyla was the first of many amateur archaeologists in Cyprus to add more systematic excavation, recording, documentation, analysis and interpretation of the sanctuary sites, although not in a consistent way.[82] In the publication of his reports he concludes by expressing his hope that his "excavation in Idalion helped to elucidate the question of the early inhabitants of Cyprus, their language, their worship, their customs and their arts",[83] introducing for the first time a 'cultural-historical' approach to the study of the Cypriot sanctuaries.[84]

Cesnola, the United States' consul to Cyprus, excavated several sanctuary sites, especially in the eastern part of the island, that still remain unidentified.[85] As Ulbrich puts it, a combination of the 'cultural-historical' approach, antiquarian attitude and financial considerations lie behind his large-scale 'archaeological explorations'.[86] For the 11 sanctuary sites recorded in his book,[87] he provided information and sometimes illustrations—although not consistent or complete for every site—on aspects such as their specific location, their setting in relation to tombs and settlements, the nature of the evidence and the identity of the deity. However, scholars have questioned the exact find-spots of the Cesnola finds.[88] Cesnola has been accused of falsification of evidence with a primary interest in the creation of archaeological 'treasures'.[89] Colonna-Ceccaldi,[90] working with the statuary excavated from the site of Golgoi-Agios Photios, established a chronological system of style and typology which assumes a direct correlation between foreign

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82 Ulbrich 2001, 95–96.

83 Lang 1878, 54.

84 Ulbrich 2001, 95–96.

85 Ulbrich 2001, 956–958. Marangou (2000) offers a thorough account of Cesnola's life and activities on the island.

86 Ulbrich 2001, 96.

87 Cesnola 1877.

88 e.g. Counts 2001, 135.

89 Marangou (2000, 56–71) also compares the life of Cesnola with that of Schliemann through correspondence that the two men had. "This relation, whether that of admiration or antagonism, perhaps even jealously, was evidenced in strange similarities and coincidences throughout their lives": Marangou 2000, 56.

90 Colonna-Ceccaldi 1882.

domination and incoming stylistic influences, a classification which often still inspires much of modern scholarship,[91] while undervaluing the indigenous character and originality of Cypriot art.

After the establishment of British rule in 1878, British scholars were commissioned and financed by the Cyprus Exploration Fund and the British Museum to conduct archaeological research on the island. Displaying a similar combination of antiquarian and historical approaches, they recorded at least another 17 sanctuary sites, such as Kouklia-Palaipaphos, Kition-Kamelarka, Limnitis, Amargeti and Salamis, some of which were, however, published in a more systematic way with (comparatively speaking) detailed descriptions of architecture and finds, but with a severe lack of illustrations and topographical plans.[92] As Ulbrich notes, since British scholarship did not enjoy much interest in the archaeology of cult and religion at that time, the sanctuary-related material was only perceived and interpreted as evidence for Cypriot material and culture.[93]

In contrast, the work of Ohnefalsch-Richter,[94] a German amateur archaeologist, influenced by the developments in German classical archaeology and international scholarship on religion and mythology, has been identified as the first to turn Cypriot studies towards an 'archaeology of cult'.[95] Financed by the British authorities on the island, by the newly founded Cyprus Museum, the British Museum, private English residents and, later, by the German Archaeological Institute, between 1879 and 1894 he discovered and/or excavated hundred of tombs and 42 new sanctuaries, including sites at Achna, Idalion, Voni, Tamassos-Frangissa and Arsos, to mention only a few. Although he never systematically published detailed and complete excavation reports, in his monograph, comparing evidence from 72 sites, he was the first archaeologist to produce actual stone-by-stone topographical plans. Although he often went too far, using comparative approaches with other areas of the Mediterranean, he was the first to observe architectural patterns, spatial organisation of cult, votive practice and sacred iconography in time.[96]

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91 Counts 2001, 142–143.

92 Ulbrich 2001, 98. These sites were published either in general monographs on ancient monuments in Cyprus such as Hogarth 1889, or in articles in the *JHS* (i.e. Gardner et al. 1888, 193–258; Munro and Tubbs 1890, 50–99; 1891, 59–198; Myres 1897, 167–170).

93 Ulbrich 2001, 98.

94 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893.

95 Ulbrich 2001, 98–102.

96 Ulbrich 2001, 99.

Special reference should be made to the work of the British archaeologist Sir John Myres. Further to his activity in the Cypriot sanctuaries, as discussed above, in 1913 he excavated the sanctuary of Lefkoniko which produced an important quantity of sculpture.[97] His collaboration with Ohnefalsch-Richter would result in the first scholarly catalogue of the material in the Cyprus Museum.[98] This catalogue, together with the later guidebook to the famous Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,[99] constitute the earliest major scientific classifications of the Cypriot material, and although building on the work of Colonna-Ceccaldi who established typologies based on foreign dominations, he also provided a fresh look at Cypriot sculpture.[100] As Counts argues, Myres placed Cypriot sculpture within its religious context, offering various interpretations on the workings of cult and the tradition of votive offerings at sanctuaries.[101]

Following the works of Colonna-Ceccaldi and Myres, other scholars helped in the development of a formula for stylistic classification of Cypriot sculpture, constructing chronological and stylistic paradigms based on Greek and Near Eastern models.[102] Pryce, for instance, with his publication of the British Museum collection of Cypriot sculpture,[103] offered a classification system that was simplified into three main periods, each integrated into historical events; period A sculptural influences came from Naucratis and Samos, period B models were imported from Athens and Period C from Alexandria. Special note should be given to the work of Casson,[104] who, apart from raising interesting points on stylistic influences and the function of the sculpted votives, claimed that the extant examples of Cypriot sculpture were indeed based on foreign models and influences, but the principal aim of Cypriot sculptors was the creation of an indigenous art.[105]

Undoubtedly, the most prominent—in many ways—moment in the history of scholarship in Cypriot archaeology was the arrival of the Swedes on the island.[106] From 1927–1931, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, under the

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97 Myres 1945.
98 Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899.
99 Myres 1914.
100 Counts 2001, 144.
101 Counts 2001, 144.
102 Counts 2001, 145–146.
103 Pryce 1931.
104 Casson 1937, 187.
105 Counts 2001, 145.
106 "The total number of excavated objects reached some 18,000, covering the periods from the Neolithic to Roman times": Fischer 2009, 15.

leadership of Gjerstad, undertook excavations at many sites, amongst them Agia Irini, Kition, Arsos, Vouni, Soloi, and Mersinaki, producing numerous well documented and studied sanctuary sites. Through their fieldwork they introduced a new approach to Cypriot archaeological material, which was based on stratification and chronological associations between the datable finds. Their results appear in three massive volumes, in the form of detailed excavation reports and catalogues.[107] A fourth volume, which served as an integrated and synthesised discussion brought together all the known archaeological remains on the island,[108] establishing Cypriot archaeology as a scientific discipline. As Counts observes, "we are no longer in the midst of arguments based on style and foreign influences alone"; while—apart from foreign influences—a decisive role of an indigenous artistic spirit is stressed, Cypriot art is also given credit for its own influences abroad.[109] However, according to Gjerstad, the 'Classical Cypro-Greek', Hellenistic and Roman styles in sculpture are simply periods of imitations of contemporary prototypes.[110]

In 1935 the Cypriot Department of Antiquities was founded with its first Director, Peter Megaw. Research, preservation, exhibition and protection of antiquities and archaeological sites became more systematic. In 1960, Cyprus became an independent state and the Director of the Department subsequently has been Greek-Cypriot. Among the numerous excavations conducted by the Department of Antiquities, some of them were focused on sanctuary sites, such as Kition-Kathari and Meniko-Litharkes. Additionally, foreign missions were strongly encouraged by the Department to start research projects on the island. Some of the most important sanctuary sites were recovered or re-investigated during those missions: the French expedition at Amathous and Kition-Bamboula, the Germans in Palaipaphos and Tamassos, the Americans in Athienou-Malloura, Idalion and Marion. Furthermore, as will be explored in the sacred landscapes chapter, many survey projects that have periodically been conducted by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities and by foreign missions have produced a substantial number of 'sanctuary sites'. However, although nowadays archaeological activity on the island is much more systematic and organised, the problem of unpublished excavations, or the prevalence of preliminary rather than

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107 *SCE* 1–3.
108 *SCE* 4(1–3).
109 Counts 2001, 149.
110 *SCE* 4(2): 92–93.

final reports, remains a major problem in Cypriot archaeology, something which is of course very common generally in the Mediterranean region.[111]

During the last few decades Cypriot sanctuaries and cults have continued to be a major focus of excavations and scholarly interest in the Cypriot archaeology of religion is growing. However, as shown in the following chapters, since the work of Ohnefalsch-Richter, scholars have only recently tried to focus on the topographical considerations of the sanctuaries and the setting of their cults into the spatial, social, economic and political landscape and organisation of ancient Cyprus.[112]

Moreover, regarding votive sculpture, many criticisms and modifications of Gjerstad's chronology system and style discussion have been made.[113] However, the most important contributions and alterations concern the Cypro-Archaic period.[114] In particular, Hellenistic sculpture, with some exceptions, remains neglected and usually subsumed under the generic classifications of Pryce and Gjerstad, who regarded them as imitations of the Mediterranean so-called *koine*, situated within the broader 'Graeco-Roman' artistic tradition. Special credit should be given to the works of Vermeule and Connelly. Vermeule, although he used the catch-all term 'Graeco-Roman' in his effort to situate Cypriot art within this tradition, laid great stress on the creative force of the individual insular tradition, concluding: when the island is judged in its own terms, its Hellenistic art acquires weight and more-than-sufficient meaning; on the other hand, when we try to compare Cypriot Hellenistic art to pieces of art produced in other parts of the Greek world, "we encounter a sense of unfulfillment and even disappointment".[115] The work of Connelly, who studied the Hellenistic votive sculpture from the sites of Arsos, Voni, Idalion and Golgoi-Agios Photios, in an effort to identify regional schools, remains a reference source for any student of Hellenistic Cypriot art.[116] However, there is still much work to be done on the study of Cypriot sculpture and terracottas, not only regarding the style and typology, but especially regarding the interrelationship between image,

111 Karageorghis 2000a; Hadjisavvas 2000. For the necessity and the value of 'bringing old excavations to life' see Smith 2008a; 2008b.

112 Ulbrich 2001, 102.

113 For general discussion see Counts 2001, 149–152.

114 e.g. Vermeule 1974; Gaber-Saletan 1986; Gaber 1989; Fourrier 2007b, 103–109. For comparative tables illustrating the proposed absolute chronologies for Cypriot sculpture and its revisions by various scholars see Counts 2001, 168–170.

115 Vermeule 1976, 60.

116 Connelly 1988.

cult, divinity and patron.[117] Nonetheless, what becomes indisputable in this discussion is that Cypriot art and culture, indeed at the 'crossroads of the Mediterranean', through various transmissions and transformations across time, created and maintained an individual and prolific character.

1.4. From a Cypriot to a Pan-Hellenistic Context and Back: Hellenistic 'Hellenisations' and Cultural *Koine*

Although the case of Cyprus could contribute handsomely to the understanding of Hellenistic 'hellenisations' in general, focus on the island has been absent from general surveys on the Hellenistic period.[118] Cyprus has therefore been treated as a minor peripheral part of the wider Hellenistic world, into which it was absorbed in fairly standard ways. The island, marginalised within the broader Ptolemaic history, has been detached from its own local past. As explained below, a fundamental unity of Hellenistic (and more specifically of Ptolemaic) administration did not exist, and the Hellenistic monarchs had to adopt different policies in each geographic area, according to the local conditions and the nature of their interests. The island, actually, even if for small periods, existed as an independent kingdom during the Hellenistic era.

Admittedly, however, by emphasising the particularity of the Cypriot case in this work, one runs the risk of localising it and reducing its wider significance. Consequently, before focusing on the specific Cypriot context, multiple 'hellenisation' processes in other geographic contexts need to be briefly examined. This section aims first at providing a theoretical and methodological basis for approaching the so-called Hellenistic 'hellenisations', and secondly at describing selectively what such processes meant in other geographical contexts. Such an attempt serves to emphasise how the significance of the Cypriot case surpasses local island conditions and can be seen against the wider 'international' scene. In fact, as concluded in the end of this work, Cyprus offers a valuable model for understanding 'hellenisation'—Hellenistic and pre-hellenistic—*in toto*.

As it is impossible to engage in detail with 'hellenisation' processes for each and every Hellenistic region in this brief survey, we will simply review

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[117] cf. Counts 2001, 165–167.

[118] Shipley (2000), for instance, while examining the Seleucid empire, devoting specific sections in each geographic area, only touches upon Hellenistic Cyprus within the context of Ptolemaic Egypt.

this issue bringing to the forefront its complexity and opening up some issues for further consideration. Examining 'hellenisation' we must ask what its parameters are, and how markers indicating social change can be found. In such a generic analysis we can approach this question by analysing a number of major issues selectively, such as political ideologies, language, literature, education, urbanisation, cultural and political institutions, and by drawing on, and briefly touching upon, themes and/or specific case studies which offer parallels or differences from the Cypriot case. By refining the context of the academic perception of the term and its shifting modes of articulation and geo-historical function, it is hoped that a more balanced approach to 'hellenisation' will result.

The 'stereotypic' standpoint that the Hellenistic period "is as much a cultural phenomenon as a political one"[119] hints at complex issues not only about the character of the period, but also about its reception within a modern scholarly environment. The term 'Hellenistic' has been seen by various scholars as an 'unsatisfactory' or 'unhappy' one, as it defines "not the Greek world itself but its barbarian penumbra or periphery",[120] while its suffix '-istic' "conjures up a notion of pale or failed imitation, Greek-ish, Greek-like, not the real pukka thing".[121] Paradoxically, Hellenistic space has usually been regarded either as fulfilled by a 'hybrid' 'syncretistic' culture, or by a 'hellenising' aspect, which totally erased existing local conditions. Nonetheless, by definition, as Ogden explains, "the 'hellenizing' are not yet the 'hellenized'".[122] In reality, as maintained throughout this work, the creation of these so-called 'hybrid' identities, which vary from area to area, marks the very originality and 'unity' of the Hellenistic world.

In this context it is important to introduce some perspectives on the transmission and transformation of culture. The ways in which materials, ideas and behaviours are transmitted and transformed in time and space have usually been explored by historians and archaeologists under the more simplistic notions of trade and exchange, immigration, colonisation, cultural diffusion, acculturation and enculturation. Modern scholarship has been particularly keen on identifying and understanding the complex web of other interactions, transmissions and transformations that happen when processes such as trade, exchange, military conflict and social disorder take

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119 Erskine 2003, 3.
120 Ogden 2002, x.
121 Cartledge 1997, 2.
122 Ogden 2002, x.

place, as well as the multiplicity of social changes that result from such phenomena:[123] military conflict and social disorder, trade and exchange, all of which related to the transition from Classical to Hellenistic times, are deeply linked to the way in which culture is transmitted and transformed. By drawing on the research methods of related disciplines, the range of human systems (including ideology, social organisation, subsistence, technology, trade and exchange) and their interaction with their natural and social environment (through time and space) can better be understood.[124] As explained below, agency and objectification processes need to be considered in order to approach ancient cultural systems, artefacts and their meanings, as well as ancient cognitive systems. Such an approach contrasts with the more passive notions of assimilation, diffusionism and acculturation. As Clarke argues, knowledge, as a form of culture, is actively transmitted and transformed through a constant process of social interaction, which strengthens 'collective identities'; people are continuously, consciously or unconsciously, negotiating aspects of cultural similarity and difference, and these negotiations are usually materialised in the historical and archaeological records.[125] I summarise Clarke's argumentation in the following two paragraphs.[126]

Culture transforms through time, and this is where the medium and long-term histories examined later are particularly useful. Bringing issues of agency into the discussion, one can consider how people and objects actively rather than passively contribute to cultural change. Culture is created by experience shaped by various interactions with the world around, and it should be emphasised that the concept of 'local context' is very important in this process. The role of memory in the transmission and transformation of culture becomes an important interlocutor.[127] Additionally, consideration should be given to receptivity to cross-cultural transmissions and transformations.[128] Firstly, one needs to reconsider modern scholarly acceptance of some long-'recognised' cultural transmissions. Secondly, some possible factors in the acceptance or rejection of foreign ideas, types and images to which the recipient culture was exposed and variations in a local context,

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123 Schortman and Urban 1992; Clarke 2005a, b, c, d, e; Knapp and van Dommelen 2010; Parkinson and Galaty 2010.
124 Levy 2005, xi.
125 Clarke 2005b, 2–3.
126 Clarke 2005a, b, c, d and, especially, e, 138.
127 Rowlands 1993.
128 Phillips 2005.

need to be well thought-out. It should, thus, be remembered that any artefact can give rise in different viewers to a multitude of varying and even contradictory perceptions, responses and meanings, depending on their personal experience and identity.[129]

Movement of objects and ideas through space, via migration or invasion, trade and exchange, etc. appear to enhance or promote change. Cultural traits, therefore, travel with people, but not all aspects of culture travel in the same way. A 'receiving group' for instance, can easily copy materials, decorative styles and iconography and these kinds of cultural transmissions are more clearly identifiable in the material record. As shown more clearly in chapters 3 and 4, technologies and ideologies, including religion, require larger human participation in the transmission process and they are harder to identify. Therefore, while an object can travel, decorative schemes found on that object, ways of making this object, its function and its ideology can also travel. When transmitted, such cultural forms can also be transformed. An important problem, however, in cultural transmission and transformation studies is identifying the level of human participation in the process. While style for instance, can be transferred without the presence of people who have actual knowledge of it, the adoption of new technologies or ideologies apparently requires the presence of people who can demonstrate ways of doing things and ways of thinking about them. It is indeed very difficult to approach the complexities of human interaction without first approaching the types of cultural transmissions and transformations that have occurred in a local context.

'Hellenisation' can be interpreted in various ways, according to the user's background and the message he wants to convey, something which has created many confusions, disputes and misunderstandings.[130] Multiple self-perceptions and representations related to the 'Greek' and the 'other' definitely existed during the Hellenistic period, and even though they may have generated a tension within the various groups, they should not have essentially marked deviousness or dissidence, but reflections of the complexity that characterises each society.[131] One must thus think carefully about what is to be understood by 'hellenisation'. By considering the loose usage and the polysemy of the term one can begin to approach the perceptions and the implicated complexity in the attribution or identification of

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129 Elsner 1995, 3.
130 Domínguez 1999, 301; Grabbe 2002, 56.
131 Browning 2002, 257–258.

'Hellenistic identity'.[132] In analogy with 'romanisation', to some people 'hellenisation' can mean the process through which some populations transformed into Greeks (in all aspects), after an intense and intimate contact with the Greeks- through the passive notions of diffusion and acculturation however.[133] The study of 'hellenisation' in these terms implies a one-sided, static and simplistic cultural interaction that has little effectiveness as an analytic tool.[134] If one chooses to use the term should thus prefer to speak of lengthy 'processes of hellenisation', which are not based on prejudged assumptions and comprehend the dynamics acting in any human historical processes.[135] 'Hellenisation' is definitely relevant to 'Mediterranean' as a concept, or to 'Mediterraneanisation' as a paradigm, which even if bigger in time-span and smaller in space, definitely offers useful frameworks for interpretation, alternatives to binary conflicts, allowing 'globalism', regionalism and localism to co-exist.[136] Mediterranean is regarded as a unitary space of exchange, but still should be seen more as a sophisticated network bridging diversification and connecting 'microregions'.[137] One should, therefore, think of connectedness as a process rather than as a state.[138]

The concept of 'hellenisation' is much related to that of 'panhellenism', which according to Hall derives from a culturally-based Athenocentric notion of Hellenicity and has its routes in late fifth- and early fourth-century intellectuals, promoting Hellenic unity in a common campaign against the Persians.[139] Although a number of recent studies have sought early 'Hellenicity',[140] the Hellenistic one remains neglected from recent theoretical developments, and at its best, much misunderstood. 'Hellenicity' has repeatedly been questioned by modern scholarship, with shifting emphases and inconsistent applications however, on categories of blood kinship, language, religion and ways of life, in accordance with the definition given by Herodotus (8.144.2).[141] It should be acknowledged from the beginning that cultural

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132 Thompson 2001, 312.
133 Domínguez 1999, 324; cf. Versluys 2008, 355.
134 Schwartz 2001, 12.
135 Domínguez 1999, 324; Grabbe 2002, 57, 64.
136 Malkin 2005, 1. For general discussions on Mediterranean as a concept and 'Mediterraneanisation' see Braudel 1972–1973; 1980; Horden and Purcell 2000; Malkin 2005; Purcell 2005; Morris 2005; Knapp and van Dommelen 2010, 8–14; Rowlands 2010.
137 Horden and Purcell 2000.
138 Morris 2005, 33.
139 Hall 2002, 205; cf. Malkin 2001, 7; Saïd 2001, 276–286.
140 Hall 1997; 2002.
141 Malkin 2001, 1; Hall 2002, 189–190.

identity is not always synonymous with ethnicity. In analogy with the term 'Roman' as an ethnic identity,[142] being or behaving as a 'Greek' in the Hellenistic period is equally problematic. As we learn from the case of Egypt, for instance, where microhistorical investigation is more possible due to the survival of papyri, Greekness becomes even more blurred during the Hellenistic period due to the fluidity of personal identities; thus, ethnic identity forms only part of the picture.[143] Hall is right when suggesting that Hellenistic 'hellenisation', although related to the Classical spirit of the notion, was developed under entirely new political circumstances and fundamentally dissimilar cultural frameworks within which self-identification operated.[144] In particular, when talking about 'hellenism' or 'hellenisations' in the Hellenistic period, the terms should refer to a cultural rather than an ethnic identity.

It is commonly accepted that less scholarly work has been done on the Hellenistic period in comparison to other eras of the ancient world.[145] This is also the case for Hellenistic Cyprus. As Shipley clearly states, the Hellenistic age seems to have benefitted less than other periods from sociologically informed analysis, and therefore, with a few exceptions in the study of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires, we still lack a "varied armoury of methods and approaches to produce a holistic picture".[146] Additionally, in Dench's words, the late recognition of the value of archaeology for the understanding, rather than the illustration, of the ancient social systems, along with the later development of a fundamentally distinct discipline of archaeology that maintains a loose relationship with history, have usually hindered a balanced approach, which would involve properly analysed text combined with properly analysed material evidence.[147] Furthermore, modern 'Hellenistic scholars' rarely take into account texts and material evidence of the East or the Hellenistic countryside, or even monuments and finds created in the Hellenistic period, but still distinct from the Greek 'Hellenistic style'.[148] Material culture and landscape archaeology—unlike textual evidence, which almost exclusively expresses the male elite class of specific

142 Lee 2003, 9.
143 Thompson 2001.
144 Hall 2002, 220; cf. Hengel 1974, 3.
145 Cartledge 1997, 3; Erskine 2003, 1–3; Bugh 2006; Shipley 2006.
146 Shipley 2006, 318–319.
147 Dench 2003, 296; cf. Halsall 1997; Sauer 2004; Petit 2006a.
148 Rotroff 1997, 224–226; *contra* such approaches see Rotroff 1997 or Stephens 2002, for instance.

individuals[149]—combined with other sources of evidence and influenced by other disciplines, can easily provide a more holistic picture of society. Comparative models of socio-political change can give a base for decoding some complex issues of heritage and identity in the Hellenistic world. As cultural interactions in the Hellenistic period might have become even more complex than before,[150] we definitely need a more sociological framework to make sense of these. Theorising issues related to social change, such as power relationships, politico-religious ideologies, economies and technologies, ethnic definitions and identities, inter-ethnic relations and interaction of public and private life can provide new insights into important aspects of 'hellenisation' processes, and Hellenistic society in general.

Modern perceptions and constructs of bipolar identities, related either to the 'self' and the 'other', or to 'centre' and 'periphery', have also shaped our understanding of 'hellenisation'.[151] In this respect, 'Hellenism' has been seen as a 'cultural package' (comprising a list of Greek elements such as politics, languages, architecture, sculpture, literature and religion), either affirmed or denied by a society.[152] While we, as modern historians and archaeologists, have to use such a check-list in our investigations we have to be aware of the more complex processes of 'hellenisation'. Additionally, what is usually missing from reconstructions of 'hellenisation' is the fact that many 'items' included in these 'Greek cultural packages' actually originated from other places. We have to acknowledge, that each researcher brings to what he or she studies the history of his/her intellectual training, personal attitudes, experiences and unconscious prejudices. The prestige of Greekness and classical culture, and the aesthetic preoccupations related to it, therefore, have had an impact on 'hellenisation' narratives and the production of contemporary identities.[153]

As history and archaeology take place in the present, they cannot divorce themselves from contemporary society and politics. Along with academic training and perspectives, many governments have viewed history and archaeology as a tool of national ideology; it is not even uncommon for archaeological practice to be politically situated in aid of particular political

149 Rotroff 2006, 137; cf. Schwartz 2001, 9; Ogden 2002, x–xi.
150 Rotroff 1997; Tsetskhladze 1999, xii; Grabbe 2002, 56–57.
151 Malkin 2001, 12–15.
152 Levine 1998, 17; Lee 2003, 6.
153 Dench 2003, 303; cf. Momigliano 1975, 11–12; Coleman and Walz 1997; Held 1997; Holst-Warhaft 1997; Purdy 1997; Dietler 1997, 296; Malkin 2001, 1–2, 24; Schwartz 2001, 5–6; Hall 2002, 226; Walbank 2002; Nippel 2002; Mairs 2006; 2011; Bagnall 2007.

agendas.[154] In other words, colonial and post-colonial uses of the past, politically or nationally essentialised views, academic trends and narrations, have influenced modern scholarship and perceptions about the creation of local histories. The cases of Palestine and south Italy and Sicily, where such issues have been sought in relation to 'hellenisation', should be viewed as instrumental comparative studies with Cyprus,[155] both in positive and negative ways when it comes to conclusions. The British attitude towards the past within a scheme to legitimate authority on the island, the nationalistic movements on the part of some Greek-Cypriots demanding *enosis* (unification) with Greece, the manipulations of Cypriot identity from different angles and parts, and hellenocentric Cypriot education have all greatly influenced our understanding and interpretation of the island's history.[156] As Counts notes, "[s]uch historical narratives tend to downplay local contexts through their emphasis on foreign domination and influence".[157] Generalisations and monocasual explanations are dangerous and interpretation, as explained below, is always a matter of perspective.

Scholars studying the Hellenistic world, with a few exceptions,[158] have usually been reluctant to use words like 'colonial' or even 'imperial' in this context. Nevertheless, colonialism and imperialism provide obvious resonances with the Hellenistic period, both in a positive and in a negative way.[159] Modern post-colonial thought, representing colonial situations as a confrontation between two essentially distinct cultural entities, each of which is internally homogeneous and externally bounded, have set the standard for the study of 'colonialism' in the ancient Mediterranean.[160] Culture is never static and is constantly changing, so that people can successfully

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154 Meskell and Preucel 2004a.

155 Schwartz 2002, 5–8; Dench 2003, 295–298.

156 For discussion on these issues in a Cypriot context see Maier 1985; Given 1991, 6–39; 1997; 1998a (for discussion and debate generated from this article see Hamilakis 1998; Silberman 1998; van Dommelen 1998; Sant Cassia 1998; Given 1998b; Petit 1999); 2002; Reyes 1994, 4; Collombier 1995; Serghidou 2001; Leriou 2002; Stritch 2006; Counts 2008, 17. For the use of the past in the construction of modern national identities see Karageorghis 1985, 6; Flourentzos 2006; Hadjisavvas 2007a, xii. To clearly illustrate the role of the past in a contemporary Cypriot political context I finally cite the former Minister of Communications and Works, Mr. Averof Neophytou: the primary role of Euagoras I of Salamis "was to unite the island through Greek culture": Neophytou 2007, xvii.

157 Counts 2008, 17.

158 e.g. Briant 1978; Cohen 1995; Chamoux 2003.

159 Shipley 2000, 295–296; Bagnall 1997; 2006. For a review of analogies between ancient and modern colonisations in various chronological and geographic contexts see Malkin 2008.

160 van Dommelen 1997, 308.

maintain themselves and reproduce.[161] In this respect, new ways of exploring meaning within complex culture patterning and interacting levels of social power have been employed. Cautious analogy can prove a useful and fruitful way of thinking about the past. Various scholars undertaking regional studies, therefore, have recently begun to value what we can learn from postcolonial theory when studying ancient Mediterranean history and archaeology.[162]

Ideas of 'empire' have been constructed in a quite complex way, deriving from both ancient empires, such as the Roman, and modern western ones, such as the British. The understanding of ancient empire has been informed by the modern experience, just as modern empire took inspiration from the ancient world. The Roman imperial model, however, has usually acted as a paradigmatic example, from which many traditional understandings of empire and imperialism derive, contributing definitions and constructing 'foils' which frame our enquiries when we approach any other empire.[163] Terrenato, critiquing the analogy between Roman and modern imperialism drawn in modern historiography, emphasises some structural differences that make the direct parallel between ancient and modern empires "deeply misleading for the study of both entities".[164] He argues that the role of Roman expansionism and colonialism as archetypes for modern nationalism and imperialism has long prevented scholarship from moving beyond some basic assumptions; however, once the equation between western modernity and classical antiquity is removed, it becomes clear that pre-modern complex cultures can display significant similarities and that there is indeed a lot to be learned from comparisons that go beyond the Mediterranean; it can therefore be argued that "the contribution that postcolonial thought could make to our discipline is to facilitate a consideration of ancient empires in their own terms, free from the heavy ideological baggage introduced by considerations of modern colonialism".[165] Vasunia has clearly demonstrated that even if the connections between ancient and modern empires are difficult to establish, this may also be due to the reluctance of 'Classical scholars' to proceed to a meaningful comparison.[166] Other scholars, even though aware of the differences between 'romanisation' and 'helleni-

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161 Levy 2005, xii.
162 e.g. van Dommelen 1997; Antonaccio 2003; Hurst and Owen 2005; Counts 2006b; 2008.
163 Morrison 2001, 1–2.
164 Terrenato 2005, 60.
165 Terrenato 2005, 66–67.
166 Vasunia 2003.

sation', also agree that 'romanisation' models correspond to the interesting questions scholars are currently asking about the Hellenistic world, illuminating issues of individual local identities, distinctive histories, divergent directions of change, ethnic and cultural plurality.[167] Recent calls of 'romanisation' that recognise that both imperialistic and local forces were working simultaneously in the production of Roman societies, particularly with reference to the East,[168] are particularly applicable to the study of 'hellenisation'.

The word 'empire' itself, deriving from the Latin word *imperium*, has the connotation of executive authority, sense of order, command and sovereignty. Approaches to power and legitimacy, overlapping with modern perspectives on European colonialism/imperialism and postcolonial thought, have indeed had a detrimental impact on the modern study of ancient 'empires'. The concept of conquering other people and cultures, which have succumbed to the superior force of colonisers and either die out or acculturate, has therefore evolved.[169] As Sinopoli explains, imperial power can claim territories and arrange its physical form through conquest; however, particularly in the early decades of an empire's history, its structural creation as an integrated polity is a longer process, and cannot be achieved merely with the conquest. She therefore stresses that empire studies should look beyond claimed political boundaries, to larger and more complex spheres of interaction and impact, such as practices of imperial integration, responses of imperial subjects, imperial ideologies, political, economic and sociological dimensions, variability and diversity, strategy and contingency, and general processes versus individual historical trajectories.[170]

The recent contribution of Marquaille should be regarded as instrumental in understanding the dangers and anachronisms of imputing meanings attached to imperialism and colonialism, and the limits in the applicability of the imperial model, specifically to Ptolemaic power and foreign policy.[171] As Rotroff nicely puts it, we should more seriously regard the possibility that "the Hellenistic Greeks—especially those who lived far from the shores of the Mediterranean—may have been less Eurocentric than

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167 Dench 2003, 295; Lee 2003, 6–7.

168 Woolf 1995; Whittaker 1995. The most recent study on Roman imperialism and local identities by Revell (2009) should be seen as instrumental; for a critique see Graham 2009.

169 Gosden 2004a; 2004b.

170 Sinopoli 2001.

171 Marquaille 2001.

modern classicists".[172] Furthermore, one should probably emphasise a structural difference between Hellenistic and Roman imperial expansion: although this could result from the construction of my own contemporary 'Greek-Cypriot' identity, I suspect that 'romanisation' differs from 'hellenisation' when it comes to mechanisms of integration with local population. This finds support to the fact that Hellenistic imperialism is closer to the Achaemenid one, i.e. relatively favourable to diverse political-administrative arrangements and maintenance of the status quo. As Tuplin argues, the work of Wiesehöfer on Achaemenid empire,[173] has clearly shown that the Achaemenids had no interest in 'persianisation', in the sense in which one speaks of 'romanisation'.[174] Romanisation, in this regard, has much more in common with modern European colonial contexts in terms of separation between the coloniser and the native.

The wider use of the Greek language in opposition to the very confined use of the Latin one, and the persistence of the first in the Mediterranean part of the Roman East[175] might indeed reinforce such an interpretation. On the other hand, we have to accept that issues of language are far more complex and in many areas, including Cyprus, Greek language (and culture) was deeply rooted in local identities before the onset of the Hellenistic period. Additionally, a number of scholars have argued that the Hellenism of the East was a Roman concern or an administrative convenience.[176] Finally, next to the preservation of so many native languages in the East, it seems very difficult to determine to what extent Greek language penetrated into the lives of the non-elites.[177]

Even if bottom-up direction of change is a *desideratum* when one studies 'hellenisation' processes, one should not downplay the importance of hierarchies. The study of 'hellenisation' appears to be closely linked to the study of Hellenistic kingship. Alexander's legacy has contributed sincerely to our understanding of 'hellenisation'. It has often been asserted that Alexander's vision was the creation of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural unitary state with an intended 'policy of fusion'.[178] Such a policy is indeed supported by textual and material evidence, referring to intermarriage, respect, admira-

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172 Rotroff 1997, 226.
173 Wiesehöfer 2009. For comparisons between Roman, Persian and Hellenistic empires cf. Erskine and Llewellyn-Jones 2011, xvi–vii.
174 Tuplin 2009.
175 Butcher 2003, 274–275; Marek 2009, 37–38, 44.
176 e.g. Hengel 1980, 53; Ferrary 1997; Saïd 2001; Spawforth 2001; Butcher 2003, 273–277.
177 Grabbe 2002, 57–58.
178 Rotroff 1997, 221.

tion and adoption of oriental regalia and customs.[179] Even though Alexander's intentions are subject to debate,[180] one cannot deny that through his conquests, he created a condition in which people of fundamentally dissimilar cultural backgrounds found themselves living under the same state; thus, there seem to be several legitimate ways for the use of 'hellenisation'.[181]

As further discussed in the following chapters, the Hellenistic rulers seem to have appropriated Alexander's legacy. Nonetheless, the kings—most probably—did not have 'hellenisation' as a primary consideration, and one cannot use the term as a motive; 'hellenising', was thus a result of colonisation.[182] Ma, basing his case on Briant's analyses of the Achaemenid empire and its inclusion in the Hellenistic world,[183] argues for a 'chameleon quality' on behalf of the Hellenistic kings who played a specific role within modes of interaction with the local structures, and he proposes a cultural history of Hellenistic kingship.[184] The Achaemenid empire seems to have provided a flexible model of effective administration, but also of tolerance of the cultural and ethnic sensibilities of its subjects, especially when it comes to matter of religious identities.[185] We should emphasise the close interactions between the position of the king, and the patterns of land settlement and tenure, something which also owes a lot of inheritance to the Achaemenids.[186] Textual and material evidence from well-studied geographic contexts illustrate how myth and genealogy, modes of representation and living support this 'chameleon quality' of the Hellenistic rulers. The manipulation of myth in particular, clearly illustrates the blur of the boundaries between Greek and non-Greek.[187] We can observe the maintenance by the rulers of a multifaced identity which, on the one hand, is palatable to the local population and, on the other hand, allows them to participate in a conformed *koine* shared by the majority of the Hellenistic kingdoms as a means of communicating their power. In other words, it was perfectly possible for the rulers to look simultaneously to 'Hellenism' and to the local environment.

179 Rotroff 1997, 221.
180 Balot 2006, 267–268.
181 Rotroff 1977, 221–222; Grabbe 2002, 56–57.
182 Cohen 1995, 66; cf. Green 1993, 9–10; Shipley 2000, 304.
183 e.g. Briant 1988; 1996.
184 Ma 2003.
185 Kurt and Sherwin-White 1987; Shipley 2000, 286, 293–301, 324–325; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 334–338; Briant and Joannès 2006; Wiesehöfer 2009, 66.
186 Davies 1984, 296–297; cf. Chamoux 2003, 234.
187 Gruen 2006.

While this 'chameleon' quality of the Ptolemies will be investigated throughout this work, and particularly when discussing the Cypriot 'portraits', for the moment we should simply refer to the recent work of Manning, who, by employing a holistic approach and by using social science models, offers a new perspective on Hellenistic royal policies and 'hellenisation' processes in Egypt: the Ptolemies are seen as just another dynastic change for the Egyptians, the legacy of which is shaped by the Egyptian past.[188] Paradigmatic examples from areas falling outside the Ptolemaic state, such as Palestine (which was lost by the Ptolemies to the Seleucids at the end of the third century BC), Pontus, Babylon and India (just to mention selectively a few) can be outlined for comparative purposes. The Hasmonean state, for example, which gained independence from the Seleucid rule, did not attempt to abolish the Greek elements in Jewish culture, but instead behaved as a typical Hellenistic kingdom, either because some elements were so well integrated or because they were symbolically useful.[189] Similarly, evidence from the Mithradatid kingdom of Pontus demonstrates how a 'semi-barbarian' dynasty, while strongly projecting its local past, at the same time effectively acquires heroic Greek ancestors, gaining the reputation of saviours and protectors of Hellenic civilisation in Asia.[190] Evidence from Babylon, supports the idea that at least some of the Seleucid kings continued and seriously supported the native traditions of kingship.[191] Finally, textual, numismatic, artistic and architectural evidence from the independent kingdom of India support such a multifaceted monarchic identity.[192]

It becomes obvious that the diversity and plurality of the interaction between Hellenistic kingship and land tenure,[193] as suggested by an increase in the available evidence and the elaboration of new concepts and models, are based on the development of powerful concrete and ideological forms to express the dominance of the state, but also function within an imperial discourse where local multiplicity and consent could be made to speak of unity and achieve legitimacy.[194] These ideas are not intended to undermine the hegemonic or military character of Hellenistic power but instead,

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188 Manning 2010.
189 Grabbe 2002, 62.
190 Marek 2009, 40; cf. McGing 1986.
191 Sherwin-White 1983; 1987, 8–9, 28–29; Kuhrt 1987, 51–56; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991; Austin 2003, 126; Foster and Foster 2009, 156.
192 Mairs 2006, 20.
193 Davies 1984, 296–304.
194 Ma 2003, 179; cf. Davies 2002.

to balance the opposing forces and influences between the authorities and local populations. One of the main purposes of the administrative structures was undoubtedly designed to extract the surplus of the local communities and benefit from the occupied lands' resources; however, it is just as important to realise that the various operations maintained by the kings and their attendants were also ideological, creating an 'imagined empire', "a space of unity and efficacy filled with the royal presence".[195] The ruler cult, as discussed in the following chapters, was central to that process. A cultural history of Hellenistic kingship, as proposed by Ma, should take into consideration many other features, such as the phenomenon of Hellenistic 'colonisation', the impact of royal lifestyle and morality on conceptions of the self, familial values and their relation to dynastic life, philosophical perceptions, and artistic patronage.[196]

'Hellenisation' should be discussed next to the so-called concept of 'Hellenistic *koine*'. The term *koine* has been introduced to the archaeological vocabulary during the 20th century, and increasingly, it gains more popularity in the archaeological literature.[197] Conventional definitions of the 'Hellenistic era' (the era from Alexander the Great up to the formal imposition of Roman power in the east) and the 'Hellenistic world' (comprised of all the lands conquered or under the control of Alexander and the various Hellenistic dynasties),[198] have also led to a conventional definition of the term Hellenistic *koine*: while a philologist can talk about a linguistic *koine*, an historian or archaeologist is more interested in a 'cultural', 'artistic' or 'religious' *koine*. Nonetheless, as explained above, in Hellenistic studies, native voice is usually not as readily heard as its Greek counterpart, and this, as well as our ideas of change and continuity can be either a problem of surviving evidence or of emphasis and academic perspective.[199]

Walbank addresses the problem of an homogeneous Hellenistic culture and shows that once we move outside the Graeco-Macedonian ruling class, there is no longer one homogeneous world.[200] 'Hellenocentric' foci, 'post-modern' ideas about 'Hellenism' and 'Orientalism' coloured by

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195 Ma 2003, 185.

196 Ma 2003, 193; cf. Balot 2006.

197 Deligiannakis 2009, 2; Galanakis 2009.

198 Alcock 1994a, 171. Areas not directly under the Successors' rule, e.g. Numidia, Nubia or India, definitely share aspects of the 'Hellenistic culture', thus clearly forming part of the 'Hellenistic world'.

199 Erskine 2003, 3–4, 12.

200 Walbank 1993, 60–78.

contemporary imperialistic post-colonial beliefs and behaviours, have contributed to an overvaluation of the use of the so-called *koine* Greek; its original administrative adoption has usually been taken as an indicator of the Hellenistic world's boundaries, elevating the significance of a common administrative tool to a triumph of Greek culture over other local cultures, overlying and civilising people as if they were a *tabula rasa*, "awaiting the imprint of civilization".[201] While language cannot be equated with culture, the innumerable spoken languages of the Hellenistic world (22 in the kingdom of Pontus alone), fairly better indicate the nature of the 'Hellenistic society' than "the Attic-based *koine*, whose origin and fusion has influenced—or misled—our vision of it for so long".[202] Even the assumption that Greek became the only official language of the Hellenistic kingdoms probably needs to be questioned: as explained above, when reviewing the 'paradox' of the use of the Cypro-syllabic script in the archives of Ptolemaic Paphos, evidence from the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires suggests that local languages continued to be used in administration.[203]

Summing up, the spread of the Greek *koine* language provides the context from which the perception of the Hellenistic world as a relatively 'unitary' and 'homogeneous' cultural phenomenon has evolved. Greek communities—particularly military attendants, mercenaries and craftsmen—and culture settled among local populations. The resulting cultural interaction offers one of the most fascinating areas of study; its extent and nature, however, has been the subject of substantial debate relating to questions of human and cultural influence and integration.[204] Modern scholars have been particularly keen to formulate cross-cultural generalisations of analytical structures, which can be applied across the board of any society, and 'hellenisation' has usually been perceived as a monocausal and uniform phenomenon, which resulted almost mechanically through 'colonisation'. A common modern perception within the 'traditional' view of Hellenistic history, therefore, is the assumption of a universal and major discontinuity following the conquests of Alexander.

In general terms, in material culture, a Hellenistic *koine* cannot be denied. Rotroff, however, has problematised the traditional 'hellenising' model for the material culture of the period,[205] demonstrating how far we are from

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201 Alcock 1994a, 171; cf. Hengel 1974, 2–3; Rotroff 1997, 223; Purcell 2006, 22.
202 Davies 1984, 320. For a recent account on the linguistic *koine* see Colvin 2011.
203 Shipley 2000, 295; Grabbe 2002, 57–58.
204 Erskine 2003, 3.
205 Rotroff 1997; cf. Colledge 1987.

understanding the mechanisms that supported this *koine*, and from recognising the enormous diversity within Hellenistic culture, produced by resistance, accommodation and transformation.[206] Recent studies call for scepticism when one uses the concept of a Hellenistic cultural, religious or artistic *koine*. When it comes to the various Hellenistic artistic schools, for instance, as Stewart explains, at least in their extreme forms, neither the fine separation of distinct local schools, nor the notion of a *koine* where every discovery immediately becomes common property from Sicily to Bactria seem adequately to explain either the international character of Hellenistic art, or the seminal contribution of local preferences and local movements to the formation "of what appear to be genuinely regional variants upon the parent stock".[207] This is also the case when it comes to the Hellenistic religious *koine*.[208]

On the other hand, if we look at the problem from the opposite direction, the idea of the Hellenistic world as a relatively unitary and homogeneous cultural phenomenon has created some paradoxes: either the development of "proudly or romantically 'small' histories of people" and "fragmented individual histories",[209] or the 'peripheralisation' and 'provincialisation' of cultures and space lying outside the main urban Hellenistic capital centres. Artefacts or monuments failing to reach the 'artistic quality' of the major Hellenistic centres, for example, have simply been regarded as inferior constructions, falling within the passive notion of 'peripheralisation' of space and objects. For those who examine the Hellenistic world focusing on textual evidence, emphasis has usually been placed on instances of hostility between the ruler and the ruled.[210] These scholars, therefore, perceived declined, assimilated, or murdered local cultures, most usually in confrontation with or, in complete separation from the Greeks.[211] As Rotroff emphasises, Hellenistic landscape is usually envisaged as dominated by two diverse social groups: the elite administrative class of Greek-speakers, consisting mainly of Greeks and Macedonians (but usually including a number of 'hellenised' natives) and the vast mass of non-elite natives, sustaining farming and labouring like their ancestors, speaking their indigenous languages, worshiping their gods, and in total contrast with their overlords; the

206 Rotroff 2006, 147–148.
207 Stewart 1979, 4; cf. Robertson 1993, followed by a response by Pollit and a discussion.
208 Míkalson 2006, 208.
209 Dench 2003, 296–297.
210 Rotroff 1997, 223–224.
211 e.g. Momigliano 1975; Cohen 1995, 68–71.

majority of the latter remained illiterate and left little trace behind them. Hellenisation was thus regarded as rare or elitist, and usually at the cost of one's native culture.[212]

While there is indeed some evidence for resistance to the foreign rule,[213] much of our evidence shows an accommodation between the native population and the Graeco-Macedonian colonists. A number of 'Hellenistic scholars' recognised that no area or aspect of social life (such as innovations of kings and colonists, types of settlement and land use, language and script, forms of landowning and dependent labour, patterns of cult and various ways of structuring politico-administrative space) went into development without reference to the local past.[214] In that respect, 'core-periphery' or 'centre-periphery' models could be constructive in considering the theme of 'hellenisation'.[215] Therefore, a more active insight into the particular local contexts and local responses to Hellenistic imperialism (my emphasis) needs to be attempted. All these interdependent aspects of social life represent far more continuity with the Achaemenid or local past than was acknowledged by 'traditional' strands of Hellenistic history; nonetheless each region experienced its own unique 'hellenisation' process,[216] according to its previous local circumstances, i.e. different landscapes, levels of urbanisation, political and economic histories, and mentalities. The Seleucid kingdom, for instance, unlike that of the Antigonids or the Ptolemies, embraced more land forms and cultures and was, thus, more heterogeneous in composition.[217] In addition, as in every technical chronological sequence that *we* create, the Roman takeover of the 'Hellenistic areas' is neither a separate part of history, nor the end of 'Hellenistic culture'.[218] One should, thus, allow for diversity and multiple interpretations when approaching the Hellenistic world and its reception both in an ancient and a modern context, not only within different regions, but also within the very same region.

Modern perceptions about both a 'global' Hellenistic *koine* and a divide between space and people have recently been reassessed to a great extent

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212 Rotroff 1997, 224.

213 Rotroff 1997, 225; Shipley 2000, 230–234; Erskine 2003, 13.

214 e.g. Samuel 1983, 105–117; Davies 1984, 291; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; 1991; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993; Cohen 1995, 67; Rotroff 1997, 224–225; Shipley 2000, 39, 153, 170–171; Chamoux 2003, 216–219, 255–256, 351, 393; Briant and Joannès 2006; Versluys 2008, 346; Marek 2009.

215 Bilde et al. 1993; particularly Cunliffe 1993, 80, Alcock 1993a, 162.

216 Davies 1984, 291; Erskine 2003, 3.

217 Shipley 2000, 271.

218 Shipley 2000, 368.

and eventually need to be abandoned. In particular, the study of surface survey projects and the comparison between Greek and non-Greek sources and evidence have shown that locally-based regional studies can test and contradict the notion of uniformity and the impression that this "entire (very far-flung and diverse) *oikoumene* followed similar developmental trajectories".[219] Shared characteristics across the Hellenistic world do indeed emerge, but they may also be detected through a 'bottom-up' approach, and may not always be assumed as an inevitable 'top-down' phenomenon. The sheer diversity of the culture covered under the umbrella of the 'Hellenistic *koine*' urges the contemporary scholar to look at regional cultural practices and processes in a more critical way. When it comes to discussion on Hellenistic empires, unfortunate overtones of deliberate polarity processes (such as cultural, technological, religious or even domestic preferences in many cases) and sealed entities between locals and colonists, imposed by models of modern European colonial empires, usually need to be abandoned; comparative studies (and even some ancient texts) suggest that we should instead visualise a whole range of relationships formed between locals and incomers.[220]

I can see the usefulness of the quantitative, qualitative and spatial analysis of material culture, such as pottery or terracottas, based on their style—i.e. Greek imports, imitations and purely indigenous material—for the definition of particular areas as more or less dominated by Greek or indigenous traditions.[221] Nonetheless, studying ancient Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic civilisations we are facing societies which are *a priori* multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-cultural.[222] Such an analysis, therefore, could indeed be helpful (up to a certain degree) in vast continental areas, falling mainly within the Seleucid empire,[223] where the 'hellenised' centre could be very isolated from some marginal areas, or in the very eastern areas where the Hellenic element was indeed foreign to the indigenous population. As the case of the Black Sea region has shown, the experience of 'hellenisation', as well as the range of relationships between Greeks, non-Greeks and semi-hellenised would differ according to the distance from the sea.[224] Nonetheless, as the case of Cyprus will show, and in accordance with evidence from

219 Alcock, Gates and Rempel 2003, 356; cf. Rotroff 1997, 224.
220 Dench 2003, 298; cf. Rotroff 1997, 224–225; Knapp and van Dommelen 2010.
221 Rotroff 1997, 232.
222 Versluys 2008, 343.
223 Shipley 2000, 272–286; Butcher 2003, 30–31.
224 Shipley 2000, 274–275; Braund 2002; cf. Chamoux 2003, 180.

other geographic areas,[225] there is little evidence for spatial or material segregation of Greek and non-Greek, when focusing on micro-regions. It is therefore difficult, and probably misleading, to set methodological criteria for examining Hellenistic societies as divided units, inhabited by social groups living in ghettos.[226]

Additionally, the distinction between locals and incomers is not so clear-cut from the archaeological record in smaller entities or in areas such as Cyprus, Sicily, Asia Minor or the Syro-Palestinian coast, where Greek elements and complex ethnic relations were part of the local mentalities and identities in a pre-Hellenistic context. Comparisons between these areas are helpful, but this distinction should be made clear: the incorporation of 'Hellenism' in a pre-Hellenistic context was not the same for each and every region; while people living in the Syro-Palestinian coast were in touch with the Greeks through commercial contacts, the Sicilians were in touch through a colonisation episode, and the Cypriots through migration and political orientations. This is also where the different response of each of the above areas to the later so-called 'romanisation' can be a helpful tool in understanding 'hellenisation' in the long-term.

Some concepts of 'island archaeology' should be considered in order to rethink and appreciate the dynamics of insular communities, such as the Cypriot one.[227] The recent work of Knapp[228] has attempted at bringing together issues of identities, insularities and Mediterranean connectivities with a special reference to prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus but, with very few exceptions,[229] the later Cypriot periods (and particularly the Hel-

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225 Shipley 2000, 323.

226 Spek 2009.

227 'Island archaeology' emerged as a defined field during the 1970s, its birth often attributed to the articles of Evans 1973; 1977. For further reading see Kirch 1986a; Patton 1996; Rainbird 1999a (for discussion and debate generated from this article see Broodbank 1999; Terrell 1999; van Dommelen 1999; Irwin 1999; Keegan 1999; Rainbird 1999b); Broodbank 2000. Chapter 1 of Broodbank's book, *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades* (Broodbank 2000) and Rainbird's book *The Archaeology of Islands* (Rainbird 2007) establish an intellectual framework for 'island archaeology'. These are the most recent and valuable attempts at rethinking the premises, agendas and practices of island archaeology. For the idea of the sea in antiquity see Oliver et al. 2000. For ideas of unity, mobility and connectivity in the Mediterranean Sea see Horden and Purcell 2000, particularly pages 123–172. For a discussion and debate on this enormous volume see Parker and van Dommelen 2000. The most recent work on Mediterranean insularity is that of Constantakopoulou (2007) where the author, putting forward issues of imperialism and island realities/ideologies, examines how insularity influenced the shape of historical events in the Aegean; for a review see Osborne 2008.

228 Knapp 2008; cf. Voskos and Knapp 2008.

229 See particularly the works of Iacovou 2007a; 2008a.

lenistic and Roman ones) remain hugely uninformed from such processes. Cyprus—a large and self-contained island in terms of natural resources—may differ from other smaller island societies discussed by Broodbank. Nonetheless, as traditionally the island's culture has primarily been seen in terms of 'acculturation' and 'emulation', we still need to follow his analysis and shift our focus from current interpretative paradigms, largely characterised by adaptive models and simple, static concepts of insularity, towards more complex and culturally driven perspectives that recognise "the extent to which islanders have consciously fashioned, and refashioned, their own identities and worlds".[230] Inter-island and island:mainland relations, maritime connectivity of things and people, insular definitions of centrality and marginality, ideological values, and islanders' views of their insularity and identity, are crucial in rethinking island cultures in relation to social change, colonisation and interaction.[231] One of the most important features of islands is their diversity and, as Broodbank notes, this is why plurality in interpretative approaches is also needed.[232] Islands have periodically been characterised as predominantly bounded, conservative and closed systems,[233] open and receptive to outside ideas,[234] or between involution and cosmopolitanism, archaism and innovation.[235] As Broodbank's analysis has suggested "the answer is in fact 'all and none of these', or (better still) 'it depends when, how, and for whom' ".[236] "For a brightest future surely lies in the development of an island archaeology … that explores how island space, environment, time and culture can be most convincingly woven together into island history".[237]

Hellenistic 'hellenisation' has also been related highly to urbanisation, usually encapsulated as the foundation of a Greek-oriented urban form of polis with its institutions and, as would naturally be expected, continuity is most easily visible in mainland Greece and the Aegean, especially in Athens, the classic example of the polis institution.[238] This question again is related to colonisation: there is no firm evidence in ancient Macedonia or Greece, for instance, for military colonies of the type found elsewhere, the purpose

230 Broodbank 2000, 1.
231 Broodbank 2000, 1.
232 Broodbank 2000, 7.
233 Evans 1973.
234 Kirch 1986b.
235 Braudel 1972, 149–150.
236 Broodbank 2000, 19.
237 Broodbank 2000, 32.
238 Davies 1984, 291; Shipley 2000, 108–152, 301–307; Chamoux 2003, 167.

of which is related to economic and administrative activities.[239] Nonetheless, within the vast Hellenistic monarchies, one source of diversity coexisted with the traditional Greek culture formatted around the urban nuclei of polis. Besides the comparatively small number of old Greek cities or new coastal Greek foundations the predominant form of nucleated settlement all over the Hellenistic world was the so-called village, either on its own or grouped together in various ways.[240] As already mentioned above when addressing Cypriot Hellenic urban forms, the absence of physical or political institutions such as agora, gymnasia, theatre, *boule* or *demos* in a pre-Hellenistic context, has usually been seen within the notion of 'peripheralising' oriental cultures. On the other hand, it has to be said that, as in the case of Cyprus, elements of the Greek-style city, in many areas, such as the coastal cities of Tyre, Sidon, Arad and Byblus, were not so purely imported Hellenistic phenomena as has usually been implied.[241] Although the precise process of 'hellenisation' is difficult to evidence, the cities of the region gradually acquired elements of the Greek polis, while continuing at the same time the 'Phoenician culture' at all its levels.[242]

The relation between education and culture is also crucial when addressing 'hellenisation'. Social and educational institutions, such as gymnasia and schools, developed similarly in many urban environments, fostering an exaggerated emphasis on Greekness.[243] Greek education, however, as manifested by literature and the linguistic evidence in some areas at least, was usually restricted to the elites.[244] Additionally, as seen in the landscapes chapter, the use of the gymnasia by people of non-Greek ethnic origin is a problematic case. An interesting question is whether and to what extent the population living outside the major urban Hellenistic centres were integrated into civic functions, or whether they were simply taxed and apart from city institutions, functioning as some sort of parallel-societies.[245] Incomparable evidence from Pontus indicates an alternative picture, especially when it comes to specific cult activities.[246] Additionally, language and nomenclature in Hellenistic Palestine, Syria and Egypt, suggest the infil-

[239] Cohen 1995, 31, 63.
[240] Davies 1984, 297–298; cf. Marek 2009, 35.
[241] Millar 1983; 1987; Davies 1984, 298; Hatzopoulos 2009.
[242] Millar 1983, 60; 1987, 123–124; Grabbe 2002, 61; Butcher 2003, 24.
[243] Browning 2002, 261.
[244] Shipley 2000, 269–270; Grabbe 2002, 59, 63.
[245] Marek 2009, 39.
[246] Marek 2009, 39.

tration of education and show that the experience of 'hellenisation' varies according to the distance from the main urban centre, as well as to the social status and class of the natives.[247]

Davies has emphasised that people at the royal courts, the circles of intellectuals, writers, artists and politically-minded landowners participated in an increasingly uniform culture; at the same time, however, one should consider the multiplicity of societies, interacting slightly with each other and having hardly any interaction with the culture of the courts.[248] Although this statement could be close to reality in many cases, one should probably take a less dogmatic approach: as shown in this work, elites take pains to communicate their culture through religion and ideology, and local people respond to this ideology based on their *habitus*. As explained above, through ideology again, elites attempt to participate in the local cultures. Native elites, especially, while maintaining a desire to adapt to/or appropriate 'Hellenistic culture', at the same time, pay attention to maintaining local traditions. In other words, the levels of interaction are usually somewhat more active than what have usually been perceived, even by scholars trying to 'read' distance or resistance on behalf of the local people. Paradoxically, the examination of Hellenistic 'hellenisation' suggests that transformation worked both ways: the 'hellenisation' of the local people was usually echoed by an equal adaptation of the Macedonians and Greeks.

Of course, it is possible that life went on in some places for many years with little or no thought of the new structures of authority. It seems impossible to deny that there may have been some conscious resistance and rejection of Greek influence in matters of morality, religion or education. This was the case in the mountainous districts of Thrace and Illyria, for instance.[249] Additionally, some people might not have felt compelled to adjust their religious habits in the face of political change. Once we start to generalise, especially when it comes to religion, we need to employ the appropriate scale.[250]

The encounter of Jews and Greeks in the Syro-Palestinian coast, as read through specific texts, represents the perception of modern scholarship about a significant religious confrontation and a stark contrast, which has served as a metaphor for the tension between dominant cultures,

247 Hengel 1974, 103; Burstein 1993; Thompson 1994; 2001; Butcher 2003, 30.
248 Davies 1984, 320.
249 Chamoux 2003, 216–217.
250 Woolf 2005, 140.

integration and assimilation.[251] We possess accurate evidence for resistance to the Hellenistic hegemonic power from other areas, but since they were not successful they have received little account by modern scholarship.[252] Such short-term events definitely existed, and affected the long-term. This contrast, however, should better be investigated between 'paganism and Judaism' rather than 'Hellenism and Judaism'.[253] If we consider the aforementioned policies of the Hasmonean state, for example, such resistance does not necessarily imply the overthrow of 'Hellenistic culture' or influence.[254]

A large number of works from different academic standpoints, amongst them the pioneer work of Hengel,[255] have been published on the aspect of 'hellenisation' of the Syro-Palestinian coast.[256] These paradigmatic studies on the cultural relationships between local and Graeco-Macedonian populations in these areas have made quite clear the oppositional perceptions of 'Hellenism' in modern scholarship. It would indeed be misleading to imagine a monolithic group with a unitary viewpoint and experience of Hellenism. Hellenism and Judaism were not mutually exclusive entities and local cultures negotiated with the Greek presence, creating different forms of 'Hellenism' as well as different forms of 'Judaism'.[257] For those who oppose such intermediary processes,[258] it has to be accepted that monarchies engaged in deliberate 'hellenising' policies, but these should usually be viewed within the context of ideology and alongside the aforementioned 'chamelon qualities'. The maintenance of a Jewish identity, therefore, is not as unique as has usually been assumed; while such a statement could also be made for the majority of the native cultures, even in the case of Jews, the maintenance of a 'traditional' identity does not exclude the participation in the 'Hellenistic' one.[259]

In conclusion, while multiculturalism affected all the parts of the Hellenistic world to an extent, it is erroneous to imagine a single form of 'hel-

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[251] Gruen 2001, 347.
[252] Grabbe 2002, 61–62.
[253] Millar 1993, 353; Lee 2003, 7; cf. Grabbe 2002, 64–66.
[254] Grabbe 2002, 62.
[255] Hengel 1974; 1980; 1989.
[256] e.g. Momigliano 1970; 1975; 1981; Feldman 1977; 1986; 1994; 2002; Millar 1978; 1983; 1997; Bowersock 1990; Gruen 1993 (with a response by Morgan and discussion); 1997; 2001; 2003; McGing 1995; Levine 1998; Schwartz 2001; 2010; Grabbe 2002; Butcher 2003, particularly 23–31. For an overview see Shipley 2000, 307–312.
[257] Hengel 1974, 2–3; Davies 2002, 6; Grabbe 2002, 52.
[258] Hoglund 2002.
[259] Grabbe 2002, 65–66.

lenisation' process. As it was perfectly possible for the rulers to look simultaneously to 'Hellenism' and to the local environment, at the same time it was usually perfectly possible for the natives to maintain multiple identities. The failure of ancient states should be analytically dissociated from the death or failure of local cultures.[260] As has eloquently been argued by Rotroff and Grabbe, the Hellenistic period should not be regarded as a monolithic whole.[261] The change did not always follow the same rhythm, and cultural interaction varied according to the particular social conditions, time period, geographic context and social status.[262] In analogy with 'romanisation' which, as emphasised by Lee, has always (often inevitably though based on the existing evidence) been studied within general patterns of behaviour falling into classifications between Romans/natives and native elite/non-elite, another addition should be made: the diversity of in-group identities and behaviours.[263] 'Hellenism' and 'hellenisation' therefore, are valid ways of thinking only if the above considerations are kept in mind and only when one emphasises local contexts both as part of the wider Hellenistic world and as a place with its own characteristics; otherwise, we run the danger of using the terms only as modern misconceptions of ancient culture.[264] One should, thus, allow plurality, diversity and lengthy and complex cultural processes to co-exist when studying the Hellenistic world as a 'uniform phenomenon' and replace the single form of 'hellenisation' with 'hellenisations' instead.

I started this section by referring to the so-called 'hybrid' identities produced in the Hellenistic world. The postcolonial concept of 'hybridity', i.e. the process of blending than merely combining them, has been introduced as a useful methodological tool for examining the more mundane and less polarised dimensions of 'colonial' situations,[265] and could indeed be a very helpful concept to employ when studying 'hellenisation'. The critical point is to realise that this is another equally problematic term, which can merely replace the more passive notions of fusion and acculturation with a more 'fashionable' gloss.[266] As in the case of 'hellenisation', one has to be aware of the connotations that these terminologies embody and, as explained

260 Yoffee 1995, 18.
261 Rotroff 1997; Grabbe 2002.
262 Rotroff 1997, 222–223; cf. Grabbe 2002, 62–66.
263 Lee 2003, 8–9; cf. Goldstone and Haldon 2009.
264 Lee 2003, 7, 9.
265 van Dommelen 1997, 309.
266 Mairs 2011.

below, allow for an active participation of time, material, individual and space. Before employing an interpretation, we therefore have to be mindful of what we mean and what other people understand by it; ultimately the use of such words could simply be a matter of terminology. Bourdieu's theory of practice, analysed below, provides a theoretical basis for examining how structural conditions of power and exploitation define the actual co-presence and everyday practice of social actors and their daily interaction in constructing and reproducing society. In this sense, using the concept of 'hellenisation', or alternatively 'hybridisation', can shed light on issues of transmissions and transformations related to mutual influencing, imitation, creative subversion, synthesis, symbiosis, distortion and absorption.

1.5. From Cypriot to Hellenistic *Koine*

The concept of 'Hellenistic *koine*' in Cyprus runs throughout the whole body of this work. Therefore, it seems appropriate to rethink this concept in a local context in a more clearly defined way here rather than later. What does it ultimately mean, and how does it allow individual, geo-cultural characteristics, in the present study the individual Cypriot *mentalité*, to fit into its context? 'Material homogeneity' proves to be a rather obscure term and it is here dealt with purely on a theoretical basis. However, it can be used in attempting to think about what units might be used to 'quantify' a material cultural *koine*. In this respect, the primary factor to be considered with regard to a material *koine* is the relative 'material homogeneity'. Particularly, in the case of Cyprus, 'material homogeneity' needs to be understood from two different angles. Firstly, one must consider and accept the relative 'material homogeneity' between the various city-kingdoms, created by a shared political and cultural system. Secondly, 'material homogeneity' needs to be considered in relation to the relative conformity reached between various Mediterranean areas during the Hellenistic period.

To make the point clearer, I will speak only of the terms linguistic (which unavoidably again is part of culture) and cultural *koine*. A cultural *koine*, obviously, encompasses all aspects of human culture, including language, religion, art, artefacts, customs etc., and is highly linked to identity. The transition to the linguistic *koine* was quite gradual.[267] The Greek alphabet

[267] Approaching the term *koine*, even from a linguistic point of view, one has to be careful in the way the distinction is made between dialect and script.

is attested in Cyprus as early as the sixth century BC, as well as the linguistic influence of the Greek dialect. On the other hand, retention of the Cypriot dialect and syllabary is attested as late as the first century BC. In archaeological terms, the concept of 'Hellenistic *koine*' in Cyprus is even more problematic and hazy. Based on recent theoretical developments examined in the previous section, the validity of pre-existing cultures and the precise nature of their interaction with the ruling powers and diffuse cultures has been stressed. One, therefore, has to remember and consider that people are individuals within their own cultures. On the other hand, resistance on the part of the pre-existing cultures can also be expressed by a group as a whole.

As far as Cyprus is concerned, where strong elements of 'Greek culture' were in place already by the end of the Late Bronze Age (when immigrants from the Aegean arrived on the island after the collapse of the Mycenaean 'palaces'),[268] and especially by the Cypro-Classical period (when the Cypriot *Basileis* were politically and ideologically oriented towards Greece),[269] issues of 'hellenisation', and consequently of the 'Hellenistic *koine*' are even more complex. The strong influence of the Hellenistic cultural *koine* on Cypriot material culture is beyond question.[270] The research undertaken in a modern colonial and post-colonial context, however, and the concept of the 'hellenisation' of the island, even centuries before the Ptolemies arrive,[271] have had a great impact on academic perceptions of the change from *Basileis* to *Strategos*. While, usually, both the Late Bronze Age and Cypro-Classical periods have respectively been examined in relation to the 'hellenisation' and 're-hellenisation' of the island, the Hellenistic period has been seen as its 'pan-hellenisation'.[272] It is usually assumed that by the Hellenistic period, Cypriot traditions had been totally assimilated into a 'syncretistic' Hellenistic civilisation, with an inferior regional variation in terms of artistic production.

It is of course clear that in Cyprus one is not faced with a completely separate character regarding material culture and artistic styles, or the sudden clash of two diametrically different cultures. The island of Cyprus, in a permanent dialogue between Orient and Occident, has played the role of a 'melting pot of cultures'.[273] Pre-hellenistic Cypriot material culture offers

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268 Iacovou 2008a.
269 Papantoniou 2011.
270 e.g. Connelly 1991; Flourentzos 2007c.
271 Leriou 2002.
272 For a brief overview of the evidence reviewed diachronically see Karageorghis 1992.
273 Hadjisavvas 2003b, 10.

an ideal laboratory for a more sophisticated approach to cultural contact, interaction and negotiation, local responses and translations and the creation of various cultural 'hybrid' forms, thus avoiding the characterisations of culture as authentic or monolithic and addressing the productive capacity of cultural interaction.[274] During various processes of transmission and transformation, a specific sort of 'Cypriot *koine*', in which the Greek element played a dominant role, did exist. It is, thus, important to remember that pre-Greek polis structures, such as language, burials and techniques of warfare, for instance, held a dominant place on Iron Age Cyprus. In fact, the 'hellenistic aspect' of Cyprus was primarily the result of a long process of continuity, change and transformation that began well before the Hellenistic period.

1.6. Social Power and the Archaeology of Religion

Before proceeding with the exact methodology with which I intend to explore the research questions posed in this monograph, for the purpose of communicating how specific terminology will be used[275] it is necessary briefly to analyse the theoretical framework within which the terms 'social power' and 'archaeology of religion' will be situated. Nonetheless, while active use of theoretically informed discussions on 'social power' and the 'archaeology of religion' will be made, I will try to maintain a balance between presenting data and interpreting it in the light of modern theory, i.e. without forcing any highly theorised models onto the material evidence. A total commitment to one particular theoretical approach should be avoided,[276] in order to better illustrate the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*. Our only investigative way to approach the complexities of social power and the archaeology of religion is to allow multiple interpretations, acknowledging the role of the active and knowledgeable human agent in social change, the active role of material culture, the recognition of past complexity, the use of complex ethnographic analogy, and the realisation that the interpreter is never neutral. The diversity of the different disciplinary perspectives and approaches, combined with dialogues, enriches

[274] Counts 2006a; 2006b.

[275] Chapman 2003: the problem of terminology and how terms mean different things in the hands of different researches in archaeological writings is addressed throughout.

[276] As has been argued, the differences between various approaches are artificial, since all archaeological theory is above all social theory: see Schiffer 2000, 1; Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 7–8.

our task of multiple interpretations, and should be seen as a healthy pluralism. As Gamble puts it "what is emerging is a more eclectic, rather than evangelical, approach to the use of theory".[277]

The concept of the 'social' has always been engaged within archaeology, and even if it has been understood in diverse ways and from a variety of perspectives,[278] it has always been associated with the 'cultural'.[279] The key element for a contextual approach is the insight that material culture is not simply reflective of social practice, but rather, a constituent of it. It is within this context that the cross-cutting theme of 'social power' emerges in archaeological thought; as a constitutive element its action affects not only the way that material culture and landscapes are experienced by people, both as agents and as objects, but also the material record and landscapes themselves. On the other hand, as is more explicitly explained below, material culture also shapes human agents and social structures. In this respect, material culture is also involved in a mutually-dependent relationship with human agents.

Traditionally, power has been seen as a property and an implicit explanation of change.[280] Nonetheless, what should be stated from the beginning is that the term social power in this work will comprise not only the elites, who hold political, economic and military power, but also the 'common people', sufficiently powerful to resist total domination. In this respect, power is a process of negotiation between two or more parties and cannot simply be seen as a straight forward imposition by the dominant parties; it is therefore present in all expressions of human relations and is not restricted only to the political sphere of life. Power is seen as a process that flows and changes, which emerges from interaction between humans, material worlds and classes.[281] In this context one needs to consider that it is to the advantage of the dominant power to constantly adjust to new conditions in order to maintain control. Studies on political histories and cultural *mentalités* that ignore such social power relations should be regarded as incomplete; equally incomplete is any discussion on social power that ignores psychological and biological components of human behaviour alongside social and cultural factors.

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277 Gamble 2004, 43.

278 For a discussion of the use of 'social' in archaeology, from Childe to the most recent 'post-processual' developments see Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 4–8.

279 Hodder 2004.

280 Gamble 2004, 191.

281 Gamble 204, 192.

Mageo and Knauft, theorising power and the self from a psychological point of view, clearly explain how power has been conceived in social studies: "as socioeconomic and entailing physical coercion, or, alternatively, as an epistemic constraint of cultural assumption".[282] As the authors explain, the former conception of power associates with Weber's definition of power as the individual's ability to carry out their own will despite resistance, to exert agency over and against the will of others who oppose it. Unlike Weber, Foucault, emphasising power as an epistemic function, is interested in tracing how knowledge and subjectivity operate as power in an *a priori* sense; both uses of the word 'power', the first well developed and the second incipient, together with the affiliated concepts that go with it can be found earlier in Marx's writings. For Marx social power is primarily dictated by those who own the means of production. But power also takes the form of ideology, the classic example of which is religion, the 'opium of the masses'. Post-Marxist critical theory, mainly the Frankfurt School, has sought to articulate these infrastructural and superstructural forms of power, and have been influential in contemporary social sciences and humanities.[283]

Both agency and knowledge are linked with social power. One of the most influential early ideas that articulated agentive and epistemic power was Gramsci's—of the Frankfurt School—notion of hegemony, or what one might call 'a naturalised ideology'.[284] Gramsci saw ideology not as a system of ideas that emanated from dominant social groups, but rather as social practice that was a part of everyone's daily life. His ideas about domination and hegemony opened up new questions of how these structures of domination 'get inside people's heads' and how they are naturalised. In other words his notion of hegemony relates to propaganda and the means (material or ideological) through which power can have an influence over people's mentality.

Foucault's considerations on how structures of domination are naturalised through discourse and knowledge have pervaded anthropological and sociological studies. The issue of resistance was pivotal for Foucault; but the bracketed role that he attributed to agency made both knowledge and resistance appear as "ghostly entities—seemingly self-propelled".[285] Additionally, according to Gosden, although Foucault's theory is crucial in cre-

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282 Mageo and Knauft 2002, 3.

283 For an account tracing the development of the 20th century problems and articulations concerning 'power' see Mageo and Knauft 2002, 4–7.

284 Gramsci 1971.

285 Mageo and Knauft 2002, 5.

ating us as people and subjects through the internalisation of values in our bodies, "it does miss the vital point that values are created and carried through our bodily relations to material culture"; therefore, he concludes, "our unconscious and habitual acts in the material world are vital".[286]

Although it is still felt that Bourdieu's centrality of embodiment and the strategies of 'symbolic violence' left resistance agency incompletely filled,[287] his idea of *habitus* should be regarded as an attempt to identify a quality of human action and a resource to facilitate agency.[288] Bourdieu tried to break dualisms such as nature:culture, social structure:individual agency, and individual:society, reminding us that humanity is physically embodied. Agency works through the body, and although embodiment is fundamental as a product of nature and a bearer of culture, it cannot be easily accommodated by these dualisms. The body is never mere corporeality, and thus it makes its appearance as expressive of social values, shared by participants, expressing power operating between people.[289] "Habitus is how people enter the world, where staking a claim upon their place in the world is also staking a claim upon their identity".[290] One should therefore consider how different bodies also experience and internalise power differently. Parameters, such as place on the social ladder, age and gender would have shaped subjective experiences of power.

Let us now examine how issues of power have been dealt with in historico-archaeological writings, especially regarding pre-capitalistic societies. Traditionally, historians and archaeologists have approached power based on analyses of elite institutions, as reflected in texts, monumental art and architecture.[291] Therefore, power has primarily been conceived in terms of ranking and control, exploitation, authority and coercion and as simply flowing from the top to the bottom of society.[292] 'Common people', usually, have been regarded as powerless and passive recipients of power institutions and hierarchies. Contemporary approaches to power and legitimacy, however, have been more careful, bringing the following concepts into consideration. Scholars have investigated social power in relation to

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286 Gosden 2004b, 5.

287 Mageo and Knauft 2002, 7. For discussion on Bourdieu's 'symbolic violence', see Miller, Rowlands and Tilley 1989, 15.

288 Barrett 2005, 133–137.

289 Barrett 2005, 136.

290 Barrett 2005, 136.

291 Chapman 2000, 576.

292 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 72.

inequality, domination and resistance,[293] maintaining, as will be seen below, that through ideology, authority may be both claimed and challenged. Power has been perceived as residing throughout "the entire gamut of social practices and in the structural ordering of society",[294] dialectically related to the different sets of resources, material (i.e. technology, artefacts) or non-material (i.e. knowledge, rank). In this respect, power and change operations usually can work on the basis of societal reproduction and transformation rather than clash and confrontation.

"Continuity and change are apparent in the spatio-temporal disposition of power strategies".[295] To analyse such strategies one needs to acknowledge the inter-dependence between material and theory. The transformations in the material record and the associations between society, economy and ideology need to be considered. Change then can be seen as transformative and dialectical rather than progressive and evolutionary and this is where the employment of the concepts of temporality, spatiality and materiality appear to be important to the present discussion.[296]

The concept of time can be difficult to grasp; it varies on different levels of socio-spatial reality, and the impact of an event should be evaluated in terms of interrelated processes that operate over intersecting time scales.[297] Numerous absolute dating methods have been employed in archaeology, but an appreciation of different scales and rhythms of time is growing. As will become clear, the appreciation of this time is a much more useful way to think when addressing the research questions of this monograph. The work of the Annales School of history, and particularly the work of Braudel,[298] has been highly influential and has been discussed in recent writings.[299] Emphasis has been laid on multiple temporal scales defined by short-term events or socio-political time, medium-term cycles or socio-economic time, and long-term trajectories or environmental time. The medium and long-term cycles are highly structured by worldviews and ideologies—the *mentalités*. Works

293 Miller, Rowlands and Tilley 1989; Paynter 1989; McGuire and Paynter, 1991.
294 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 73.
295 Knapp 1992b, 4.
296 Meskell and Preucel 2004b.
297 Knapp 1992b, 13–14.
298 Braudel 1972.
299 Particularly, see Bintliff 1991; 2004; Knapp 1992a where the three introductory essays (Knapp 1992b; Smith 1992; Fletcher 1992) consider from widely different perspectives the relationship between Annales methodology and current archaeological theory. Also Bulliet (1992) gives a final overview on the prospects of Annales and archaeology and Sherratt, A. (1992) addresses what archaeologists can learn from Annalistes.

using the Annales typology as a starting point with some modifications, have proved how elements of social time, such as art styles, monuments and landscapes, can be better understood from the long-term perspective. As Snodgrass nicely puts it, using the Annales theory, one could understand better "the way in which a *conjuncture* can divert the forces of the *longue durée* into a different channel".[300]

But time and temporality are not the same thing, and as Meskell and Preucel define, "temporality can be glossed as the temporal imaginary", as "the inseparable part of our very being-in-the-world".[301] In our discussions of the past, temporality should be regarded as the way that people articulate the elements of their lived experience and how their bodies and minds interact with landscapes and objects. Overlapping temporalities of actions and mentalities, as well as the concepts of non-linear time and transformations should be deployed.[302] Additionally, recognition of the multiplicity of experience through time and space implies the recognition of the possible relativism of 'our' own modern experiences when we talk about ancient cultures and political systems. In this context it has to be acknowledged that as archaeologists and as people, discussing social power and change in the past, inevitably, we might impose our own culturally-encapsulated temporality, which includes anachronistic perceptions and ideas about the past. A so-called 'post-processual' approach dares to interpret, and perhaps even be 'subjective'; the historian or archaeologist reveals his theories and prejudices explicitly and allows his reader to be aware of the particular set of lenses through which she/he offers a *view* of the ancient world. In other words, unavoidably, we are creating history, not merely documenting it, and interpretation and presentation are an indispensable part of a historian's and an archaeologist's craft.

Studying social power involves mapping and understanding the sites according to their functional and hierarchical places within the settlement system, and it is here that the concept of spatiality is introduced.[303] As will be observed when studying the Cypriot sacred landscapes, the analysis of spatial structure is not derivative and secondary to the analysis of social structure, and they both have a recursive relationship with each other.[304]

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300 Snograss 1991, 69.

301 Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 9. For how Braudel himself perceives the term 'temporalities' see Braudel 1980, 49–50.

302 Knapp 1992b, 12–14; Bintliff 2004, 192.

303 Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 11–13.

304 Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 12; cf. Gregory 1978, 120.

According to Meskell and Preucel, spatiality refers to the conceptions of space created through material practices and processes in the reproduction of social life.[305] Spatiality has also been explored in relation to the creation of identities. Archaeological study has turned to phenomenological approaches that try to understand how knowledge and power are manipulated in the creation of landscapes. The organisation of space should be regarded as merging the material with the symbolic, as socially constructed and experienced, and as defined by all aspects of human life—social, political, economic and ritual.[306]

Finally, in our effort to extract social power from the archaeological record, the concept of materiality should be addressed.[307] Material culture should be seen as active and meaningfully constituted, and its meanings as governing everyday social relations rather than passively reflecting them.[308] Material things are "integral components of our personalities, inextricably linked to our social lives",[309] thus actively shaping people and social relations. Materiality has been discussed in conjunction with 'objectification', namely the process by which people constitute themselves through things, and has been addressed by archaeology from several directions, including 'social technology', 'material-culture-as-text', and 'embodiment'. Technological style is not simply a means of adaptation, but as seen later—particularly when examining the Cypriot 'portraits'—certain sorts of cultural phenomena are also expressed in the very style of the technology itself. The consumption of style can be seen as conforming to social norms and beliefs, but at the same time as challenging power and authority. The 'material-culture-as-text' approach—based on the idea that archaeological evidence resembles a text requiring interpretation that can be variously 'read' by different individuals—has derived from the work of Hodder,[310] who emphasised the non-arbitrary nature of material meanings, their non-discursive and often subconscious quality, their inherent polysemy, and their durability. From a Foucaultian perspective, meaning and knowledge within power relations are highly connected.[311] Following Bourdieu, contemporary scholars have seen 'embodiment' as a key approach to under-

[305] Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 12.
[306] Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 13.
[307] Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 14–16.
[308] Hodder 1982; 2005, 255; Johnson 1993, 329; 1999, 100–101.
[309] Gamble 2004, 36.
[310] Hodder 1986; 1989.
[311] Hodder 2004, 30–31.

stand materiality, addressing the locus of the body as a material grounding for subjective experience, but also as the objectification of moral values and bodily ideas.[312] ‘Things’, like people, have agency, or at least, material objects are given meaning within agency. The characteristics of objects are important but what manifests social power is the dialectic between people and ‘things’.[313]

The centrality of the individual, mainly in ‘post-processual’ archaeological thought, has already been mentioned. However, as Gamble justly notes, at the same time one should not swap the system for the individual: alternatively we should explore “the influence of the individual on the creation of the wider social structure *and* the importance of that structure on the creation of the individual”.[314] By the ‘individual’, of course, we do not simply mean the identification of important historical persons, nor the individual as the servant of the system.[315] Instead, we refer to individuals as actively engaged and involved within this system. “That involvement comprises material culture as well as flesh-and-blood people. We utilise the full set of our senses to live in and with that experience”.[316]

The term ‘agency’ has been repeatedly used, but it has not yet been described adequately. Robb, within a broadly synthetic view of agency theory in archaeology, outlines its core elements:[317] humans, elites and non-elites, reproduce their being and their social relations through everyday practices which take place in material conditions and through material culture; practices are affected by the past, where cultural beliefs, attitudes and habits are included; thus actors hold values which help them both to act and to constrain their actions; however, in action, humans do not simply reproduce their material conditions, their historical background and inherited structures of meaning, but change, reinterpret and redefine them as well. Both human subjects and their objects can be viewed in relation to existing and pre-existing systems of meaning, into which both are ideologically incorporated as agents. This is where symbols and ideology are employed.

312 Hodder 2004, 34–36.

313 For a differentiation between ‘objects’ and ‘things’ see Gosden 2004b, 37: whereas quantifiable ‘objects’ are not tied to specific sets of associations and beliefs and have more general sorts of significances and forms of worth, ‘things’ are artifacts given values through their physical qualities, having effects on the senses and embedded in local sets of sacred and social relations, creating links between people, and between people and the universe.

314 Gamble 2004, 77.

315 Gamble 2004, 75–78.

316 Gamble 2004, 77; cf. Knapp 2010.

317 Robb 2005, 5.

The symbolic, as an essential dimension of social practice and 'structuration', has been highlighted by Shanks and Tilley, who have argued that no social practices exist without signification and without being situated within an overall symbolic field;[318] symbolic action results in the re-articulation or transformation of structures. Any conception of history as meaningful must recognise the 'referential value' and 'existential meaning' of things. In other words, one should regard material culture as language, thinking about the *signified* and the *signifier*. Signs relate to other signs in structure as a collective symbolic scheme providing meaning for action. Through re-articulations and transformations, signs can receive new meanings, but they are never experienced by actors as something standing outside themselves, but being rulers or 'common people', always dialectically related to their political (and, I would add, usually ideological/religious) interests.

The concept of 'ideology' has been crucial and hotly debated in social sciences and humanities,[319] and eventually in archaeology.[320] A standard Marxist approach is to regard ideology as a set of beliefs arising from 'false consciousness'. It has already been seen how Gramsci defined ideology. A single adequate definition of 'ideology', however, would be unrealistic; but its various meanings are all associated with social power, in its broader sense, as has been described above.[321] Ideology is associated with the general material and symbolic process of production and naturalisation of ideas, beliefs, values and the legitimation of power in social life. It usually reproduces rather than transforms the social totality.[322] Psychoanalytic, anthropological and sociological approaches have been concerned with how ideology works in power relations and in the construction of the self.[323] "As ideologies are not merely reflected in the psyche but lived they are always inscribed in the materiality of social practices and objectified in material manifestations".[324] Materialised ideologies, controlled by various social

[318] Shanks and Tilley 1987, 73–75.
[319] For a historiographical study of the concept of ideology and its reception in a modern world see Eagleton 1991 and Freeden 2003.
[320] Tilley 2000, 348; Meskell and Preucel 2004b, 126–127.
[321] For a variety of definitions see Eagleton 1991.
[322] Shanks and Tilley 1987, 75. For opposition to that statement, especially when referring to religion as ideology see Insoll 2004a, 79. In my opinion this statement is subjective in the meaning that each individual gives to the words 'reproduce' and 'transform'. Both words can equally accommodate the concept of alteration, which is the main source of debate.
[323] Shanks and Tilley 1987, 76; Mageo and Knauft 2002, 8, 19.
[324] Shanks and Tilley 1987, 76.

groups, can become part of the human culture that is broadly shared by members of a society.[325]

Ideology can therefore be seen as a positive force which creates subjects, but at the same time it can be seen as legitimating systems of authoritarianism and social domination, subjugating subjects in the interest of certain individuals, groups or classes.[326] Traditionally, the concept of ideology, most articulately championed by Leone,[327] has widely been used in archaeological writings, usually as referring to that part of society which 'masks' social inequality, contradiction, or 'real reality', giving coherence to 'lived relations' by human subjects, though that coherence can be an illusion. However, this cross-cultural nature and generalised sense of the term 'ideology' have been critiqued.[328] People, generally are not merely the passive recipients of ideas or messages to which they are exposed; "[t]hey are more like a sieve than a sponge".[329] The relationship between the two aspects of power, domination and resistance, should therefore be seen as dialectical.[330]

In my opinion, the best use of the term 'ideology' in archaeological writings has been taken by Alcock and Morrisson, to encompass "the broad overlapping spheres of religious beliefs and ritual, of power negotiations and relations, of self-definitions and self-representation, or human understanding of 'world order' ".[331] As they argue, ideologies are critically articulated with political and social action and organisation. However, the ideological realm cannot be treated as epiphenomenal to the 'real' facts behind processes of social domination, presented as the afterthought to what are presumed to be more fundamental material factors. What they suggest is that there can be no simple divide between mental (ideological) and material, domination and resistance: the notion of ideology encompasses complex connections tying together beliefs, belief systems, rituals, representations, forms of organisation and association, and possibilities of action; "[t]o label ideologies then, as 'false' or 'true' is wilfully to overlook their complexity".[332] Subjective interpretations of ideology by groups of people that use ideology to their own ends, as well as counter-ideologies that may run parallel to

325 DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996.
326 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 76.
327 Leone 1984. For discussion see Meskell and Preucel 2004c, 126–127; Mullins 2004, 203.
328 e.g. Hodder 1986, 61–70; Shanks and Tilley 1987, 77; Mullins 2004, 204–207.
329 Beetham 1991, 106.
330 Paynter and McGuire 1991, 10–13.
331 Alcock and Morrison 2001, 279.
332 Alcock and Morrison 2001, 280.

the official ideology should be considered. The existence of plural ideological responses and strategies, working at the same time, would therefore be crucial in understanding social power and change.

A multi-dimensional approach to social power was earlier developed by Mann, who argues that societies consist of multiple overlapping and intersecting socio-spatial networks of power, or what he calls the four sources of social power in his IEMP model: ideological, economic, military and political powers.[333] Above all, he puts ideological power, which overlaps with and incorporates all the other sources of power.[334] Religion, especially in ancient societies,[335] can be seen as one of the main—if not *the* main—ideological sources of power.[336]

This monograph regards religious material things and landscapes as created by and creating ideology; as recursive agents and at the same time as the building blocks of ideology. While one should be conscious of the simplistic and functionalist use of the concept on the one hand, and on the other aware of the fact that history and archaeology, as disciplinary practices, may project anachronistic social inequality or contradiction, we should consider how ideology might be situated within particular social practices and be involved in social change.[337] If culture is to be understood beyond the simplistic concept of 'acculturation', which facilitates adoption or adaptation to the new political situations, then the concept of ideology in our examination of social power will be proved a valuable methodological tool, which will allow the fuzzy logic of transmissions, transformations, variations and accommodations to take place.

Among the much debated terminology, 'archaeology of ritual', 'archaeology of cult' and 'archaeology of religion',[338] the latter has been preferred within this study, acknowledging its more flexible use and referring to a holistic system of belief, thus moving the flow of religion outside the cult monuments and shrines; the relationship between religion and society is much more reflexive than so far presented by history and archaeology. While the term 'ritual' will receive further attention below, the term 'cult'

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333 Mann 1986. For a Hellenistic IEMP synthesis see Cline and Graham 2011, 153–159.

334 Mann 1986, 22–28.

335 Specifically in relation to our topic, Martin when discussing what has been glossed 'Hellenistic religions' states: "In antiquity there was no ideology other that what we call religion": Martin 1987, 160–161.

336 Mann 1986, 22, 126.

337 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 77.

338 Renfrew 2007.

will be used to refer more specifically to the practical activities generated by such a system in honouring a deity or a deified person.

However, even religion cannot be adequately theorised or defined.[339] While anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers etc. have tried to approach religion, historians and archaeologists have either refrained from 'studying religion', or have studied it as a sub-system of society or simply from the standpoint of the art-historian, describing its material manifestation (sanctuary architecture or votive assemblages and ritual equipment). A dialogue with the 'social' has usually been very limited, and thus, the role of religion in the construction of social identities or its relationship with power has been restricted.[340] Tensions between different approaches have brought out many issues relevant to history and archaeology, although usually not adequately confronted.[341] Again, the understanding of its complexity is the key to approaching it.

Even if the resonances with ideology are commonly accepted, this monograph will not regard religion as a conflated ideological sub-system best served within a ritual symbolic domain,[342] and especially as a means developed only by dominant groups for the manipulation of the masses. As seen in our case studies ritual remains a key issue in the creation and maintenance of forms of both personal and communal identities.[343] Thus, understanding ritualisation as a process involving various culturally specific strategies for communicating some activities between people, is certainly of particular importance. In this respect, following Insoll, ritual is often a facet of religion, but certainly not its whole.[344] This leads to his central thesis: religion is more than ritual alone. Indisputably, religion constitutes

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339 Renfrew 1994a, 47–48; 2007, 112–114; Hinnells 1995, 414–416; Burkert 1996, 4–8; Ramsey and Ledbetter 2001, 1–5; Insoll 2001, 1–2, 9; 2004a, 1–8; 2005, 45; Edwards 2005, 114.

340 Insoll 2004a; Osborne 2004; Edwards 2005, 111–113.

341 Edwards 2005, 111. On the reluctance or scepticism of archaeologists to 'study religion', even if they indeed recognise its central importance in defining humanity and human history see Insoll 2004b; 2005, 45–46; Edwards 2005, 110–111.

342 This is how religion has usually been faced in 'processual' and 'post-processual' archaeological writings, especially under the Marxist influence; for discussion see Insoll 2004a, 2, 47, 52–53, 7–79; Edwards 2005, 112. Renfrew (1994b, 7) also argues that religion, "conceived as a separate dimension or sub-system of the society, could thus prove to be something of misconception …". For a discussion on how ritual is usually equated with the non-functional, the irrational or the symbolic in the archaeological record see Renfrew 1994a, 52; Brück 1999, 316–317; Edwards 2005, 110–111.

343 Edwards 2005, 116.

344 Insoll 2004a, 10–12. For a clarification of the frequent association of religion with ritual see Kyriakides 2007, particularly 294.

a major area of the archaeological record, and, up to a point, its meaning is archaeologically recoverable.

As Renfrew argues, 'the archaeology of mind', or 'cognitive archaeology', may be considered in terms of a series of functions related to the operation and the role of the symbols.[345] "But there is the danger here that we may carry to the inquiry our own culturally-encapsulated, and therefore perhaps stereotyped, view of what religion is".[346] The identification and elucidation of cult practices from the archaeological record is a challenging task, but the analysis of the belief systems which represent an even more difficult problem.[347] However, even if one should be critical in drawing formal or relational analogies with the past or/and present when trying to 'read' religious symbolism and cognition in material culture or landscapes, such a way of thinking can indeed prove a useful methodological tool. 'Reading' symbols is not a simple task; besides, their meanings can change or be lost owing to syncretism, fusion or rejection.[348] It should finally be kept in mind that religion by its nature is shifting,[349] and "religions are not just static systems fixed once and for all, but continually interact with changes and reshape themselves accordingly".[350]

While commitments to rigid definitions should be avoided, some of the more important components of religion should be highlighted:[351] the interweaving of the intangible, irrational and indefinable within a logical framework; a focus on the essential concerns of the human condition and the potential to shape mindsets and worldviews, all parts of the medium-term cycles and long-term trajectories of time. Also, analysing the relationship of religion with power (or its implication in the development of social power), two elements should definitely be regarded as main components: the individual religious experience,[352] and its potential in shaping or constructing identities.[353]

Religious and social lives in ancient contexts, and definitely in a Cypriot ancient context, are closely associated and the material implications of the archaeology of religion are therefore profound. While we need to recognise

345 Renfrew 1994b; 2005; cf. Zubrow 1994.
346 Renfrew 1994a, 47.
347 Renfrew 1994a, 51.
348 Insoll 2004a, 137.
349 Insoll 2004a, 119.
350 Paden 1994, 55.
351 Insoll 2004a, 7–8.
352 Renfrew 1994a, 48.
353 Edwards 2005.

the existence of the numinous, and that we cannot completely enter the minds of past people, at the same time we have to acknowledge and discuss the importance of the sacred element, particularly in an ancient context.[354] Religion is the very means by which people made sense of their societies and of their world as they experienced it. The study of material or data which is directly religious in character, therefore, need not be limited to a contemplation of the metaphysical, but it can provide valuable insight into the wider socio-political milieu. To get beyond the barrier of imperceptibility is to accept that the 'paranormal' range of feelings created by religious experience, such as ecstasy, mediation and vision, establish direct encounters with the supernatural, and we therefore need to focus on their acceptance and interpretation by the majority of 'normal people' as a parameter of cultural training and practice; people usually share the feeling of religious dependence, habitually therefore allowing religion to occupy "a place of honour in their mental world".[355] A principal characteristic of religion is that, through admiration, propaganda and pilgrimage, it manifests itself through interaction and communication.[356] As Burkert argues, "the divine is a social tool to manipulate communication".[357]

We finally need to appreciate the claim of the priority and seriousness of religion; "[r]eligion is serious; hence it is vulnerable to laughter and derision".[358] Bio-psychological and mental human responses, such as respect, anxiety and fear related to the unknown, life achievement, health and death, should therefore be brought into discussion in order to better appreciate the role of religion in society. As manifested in our case studies, ancient religions normally are moved by the dominating classes and the representatives of political power.[359] This is how religion deals with the unseen superiors, creating mindsets and shaping social life. The legitimisation of ancient political ideologies and hierarchies, with kingship as the central social organisation, are closely associated with and dependent on religion.[360]

One should therefore regard religion in terms of its consequences for society as a whole, rather than from the standpoint of the detailed content of its belief structures. Religion's hybrid character—between biology and

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354 Insoll 2004a, 19–20.
355 Burkert 1996, 6, 80.
356 Burkert 1996, 6–7.
357 Burkert 1996, 7.
358 Burkert 1996, 7.
359 Burkert 1996, 13.
360 Burkert 1996, 80–101; cf. Osborne 2009.

culture as Burkert has convincingly argued—calls for a variable meeting of methods.[361] Interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity are the best ways to approach religious symbolism.[362] Underpinning the archaeology of religion includes proceeding to a more inclusive approach and the notion of placing religion within a broader landscape and social framework;[363] as clearly seen in the following chapters, this can be achieved by integrating data types and different theoretical approaches and exploring additional subjects such as the influence of mythology, the emotional and sensory elements, and the blending and fusion of religions and political ideologies. In order to value 'religion' in these terms, we must question where the secular and where the sacred begin or end, and how could one isolate the sacred from its socio-cultural matrix.[364] As the premise at the beginning of this monograph maintains, religion will "be conceived of as the superstructure into which all other aspects of life can be placed".[365] If we place religion in its wider context, and move away from the simplistic perspective of faith, it becomes a part of an 'indivisible picture of life', not necessarily separated out from everything else.[366] In this respect, the "material implications of the archaeology of religion are profound and can encompass all dimensions of material culture".[367]

Such an understanding of social power, ideology and religion is almost absent in Cypriot Iron Age history and archaeology. Although ancient Cypriot religion has been discussed in academic writings, for the most part it has not been dealt within relation to social power as defined above; rather, it has been discussed in a generic fluid way, or on a synchronic thematic basis in the course of an episodic survey of Cypriot history, or in the discussion accompanying a particular temenos excavation report.[368] While Hellenistic Cyprus has been seen as a provincial area where (a qualitatively 'inferior') Hellenistic 'cultural *koine*' is profound, Hellenistic Cypriot religion and the significance of meanings and functions of sanctuaries have,

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361 Burkert 1996, 23.

362 Insoll 2004a, 37.

363 Insoll 2004a.

364 For a critique of the legacy of the ritual/religious-secular divide in anthropological and archaeological writings, and the influence of the post-Enlightenment rationalism and scientific logic on the distinction between ritual and secular, or between the symbolic and the practical see Brück 1999; Edwards 2005, 127–128. For the difficulties in distinguishing religion from other social identities see Edwards 2005, 121.

365 Insoll 2004a, 12.

366 Insoll 2004a, 116. For a schematic placement and a better view of the position of religion in the current archaeological research see Insoll 2004a, 23, fig. 2.

367 Insoll 2004a, 22.

368 Swinton 1996, 2.

paradoxically, usually been perceived in a twofold way: either as largely static, almost ahistorical (i.e. the notion of the 'Great Cypriot Goddess' and its static role within Cypriot society) or as fully and suddenly adhering to a pan-Hellenistic religious *koine* (i.e. the disappearance of 'Phoenician' cults). This is linked with the conservative role often attributed to religion in modern western societies. Another key factor for the generation of such assumptions is the way in which Cypriot post-Bronze Age archaeology as a discipline has usually been subsumed within the influence of Classical Greek archaeology, both as a discipline (in content), and as archaeological practice (in approach and methods). The primary function of religion, therefore, as the main source of social power, remains neglected. Emphasising this function of religion in a Cypriot context is exactly what this monograph aims to do through the following methodological framework.

1.7. Methodology

Taking into account the aforementioned theoretical and terminological considerations, our main research questions will be structured through three specific lines of investigation. 1. The study of the development of Cypriot sacred landscapes, in the broader conception of the term, from the city-kingdoms to the Ptolemaic era. 2. The study of cult in specific case studies, i.e. Soloi-Cholades and Amathous. 3. A specific study of one category of material culture, i.e. the 'portraits'. So that the chapters can be read individually as well as collectively, in this section I have tried to resist analysing in detail specific theoretical and methodological issues relating to each chapter. Some repetition and cross-referencing throughout the following chapters should also be understood in this context. In this section I will therefore simply offer an outline of the methodological framework of this project, briefly linking the proposed structure with the research question and the theory described above.

The sections of the Landscapes chapter (ch. 2) will emerge from the 'reading' of sacred landscapes from *Basileis* to *Strategos*. I start by assembling the archaeological data on the broader scale required by the study of landscapes. Adopting and starting with a landscape perspective is one positive way to explore the ongoing dialectic between the local and the global for the island as a whole.[369] The annexation of Cyprus by Ptolemy I marks a 'traumatic' change in the political history of the island. If the construction

369 Alcock, Gates and Rempel 2003, 271.

of social space is to be understood as a meaningful process, then we should expect social power and the change of the political map of Cyprus to be expressed through sacred landscapes as well. A contextual, holistic appreciation of the evidence might suggest some possible explanations about the change in the use and concept of sacred landscapes from *Basileis* to *Strategos*.

After an effort to define 'sacred landscapes' as a term and its use when addressing issues of social change (ch. 2.2), we will move to survey analysis and its implications for the study of Cypriot sacred landscapes (ch. 2.3). An evaluation of the survey data and its comparison with excavation results will be made. We will then move to the Cypriot sacred landscapes of the transition, having as our guide a quantitative database comprised of the Cypriot sanctuaries and their life-span from the Cypro-Archaic to the Roman period (ch. 2.4; Appendix 1). The sacred landscapes of the city-kingdoms will first be examined in an effort to connect them with the political setting of the various city-kingdoms, their artistic 'regional' styles, political events, active human responses and interaction (ch. 2.4.1). Then we will move to the Hellenistic sacred landscapes, bringing into discussion settlement activity, urbanisation, social memory, politico-religious agency and ideology based on the survey analysis and the various textual, epigraphic and archaeological evidence (ch. 4.4.2).

Moving from the broader concept of landscapes to individual site-based analysis (ch. 3), the research enquiries of the monograph will be addressed focusing on specific loci that have been selected as case studies after extensive bibliographical research on all the excavated sanctuaries on the island. The site of Soloi-Cholades, a newly founded sacred space dating to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, provides a good opportunity to search for new elements in the archaeology of Cypriot religion and to examine how they might be connected to social power. Amathous, by contrast, a surviving centre from the period of the city-kingdoms to Christian times, is a good place to examine the character of continuity, interruption and innovation from *Basileis* to *Strategos*.

After briefly presenting the history of research and topography at Soloi and Amathous (chs 3.2.1. and 3.3.1) the archaeological remains of the excavated cult places in the periods under examination will be described (chs 3.2.2 and 3.3.2/3.3.3/3.3.4). Then, the evidence will be re-thought in terms of syncretism of cults, power and ideology (chs 3.2.3 and 3.3.5). The main task of this chapter is to analyse politico-religious ideological processes and structures of symbolism rather than to fully comprehend the content of the cults. As addressed above, one must be sceptical about the possibili-

ties of fully reconstructing ancient religious systems and symbolism on the basis of material remains. However, the isolation of particular archaeological aspects for analysis—particularly iconographic elements of terracotta figurines and sculptures, but also archaeological context and architecture, in combination with textual and epigraphic evidence—can prove to be a useful way of penetrating the cognitive systems of both elites and non-elites in terms of agentive power and ideology.

The final line of investigation concentrates on the study of one specific category of material culture, namely the Hellenistic 'portrait' sculptures which derive primarily from Cypriot sanctuaries (ch. 4). Datable epigraphic evidence is also taken into consideration for indicating the existence of honorific royal portraits on the island (Appendix 2). Even if no securely identifiable royal portraits seem to have survived, the study of those sculptures and statue bases can make a significant contribution when studying issues of social power and the archaeology of religion. It is expected that the application of the theory on social practice and agency described above, focusing only on one category of material evidence, will help both the author and the reader to better understand issues of materialisation processes.

The Ptolemaic royal cult is directly related to royal portraiture and therefore it needs to be examined in the context of this chapter before turning to the sculptures themselves (ch. 4.2). Issues of portraiture and the typology of Ptolemaic royal sculptures will then be addressed in order to bring into discussion modern perceptions of style and present the characteristics of royal statues (ch. 4.3). We will then move to the study of Hellenistic 'portraits' in a Cypriot context (ch. 4.4), where the history of scholarship on Cypriot portraiture and a database of Hellenistic 'portraits' identified with specific individuals will be our point of departure (ch. 4.4.1) The existing published evidence will be examined from two different angles: a typological-stylistic approach will first be reviewed in order to position Cypriot 'portraiture' in a comparative context between coin identification and stylistic dating of definite Ptolemaic portraits found elsewhere in the Mediterranean (ch. 4.4.2); we will then move to a contextual approach, i.e. a materialisation of ideologies, that will address issues of possible ideological meanings attributed to the 'portraits', which might result from their previous (Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical) political, religious and sculptural traditions, as well as from the character of the new political, religious and cultural structures. The latter approach will put forward issues of social theory related to agency, identity, psychology and cognition, in order to shift the mode of enquiry from true 'portraiture' to a more social conception of style (ch. 4.4.3).

We will conclude (ch. 5) by bringing together the evidence of the archaeology of religion studied in the three previous chapters, and offering a more general discussion and interpretation related to our research questions. Issues of power, ideology and religion from *Basileis* to *Strategos* (ch. 5.2) will be summarised before an attempt to redefine the Cypriot involvement in the Hellenistic 'cultural *koine*' (ch. 5.3). Finally, in light of this analysis, an effort will be made both to 'bridge the gap' from *Basileis* to *Strategos* (ch. 5.4) and to stress the new avenues that this project has opened for Cypriot and Mediterranean studies (ch. 5.5).

CHAPTER TWO

SACRED LANDSCAPES

2.1. Introduction

Very few studies exist which seek to problematise issues of Cypriot sacred landscapes in relation to political power and ideology. Specifically, such a landscape perspective is absent from the study of the crucial transition from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period. As already noted, synthetic works on Cypriot religion tend to classify sanctuaries by deity or cult type, or else simply move from the discussion of one individual site to another in isolation. Cypriot sanctuaries, like the Greek ones, as Alcock notes,[1] have therefore been 'decontextualised', removed from their topographical setting, and more or less separated from any wider dynamics of social and political change.

This chapter aims firstly to raise some issues for discussion about the change in the use and concept of sacred landscapes, which were originally constructed in the era of the Cypriot *Basileis* but then continued to function in a new political environment, that of the rule of the Ptolemaic *Strategos*. If sanctuaries and religion were instrumental in forming the worldview of the ancient Cypriots, then one would expect social power relations, meanings and identities to have been expressed through the holistic concept of sacred landscapes. Another objective of this chapter is to suggest a contextualised methodology for approaching the study of sacred landscapes in ancient Cyprus, indicating at the same time the limits and the dangers of such a task. Drawing on ideas from relevant and outstanding contributions to landscape archaeology it explores how spatial order, as observed in sacred landscapes, is expected to articulate social order, and to be linked with shifting relations of power and cultural influence.[2]

It should be stressed that this chapter is concerned with the generic concept of Cypriot sacred landscapes. More detailed comparisons between areas, although necessary, lie beyond the aims of this monograph. It should

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[1] Alcock 1993b, 173.
[2] Alcock 1993b, 174–175.

be emphasised that my goal here is not to perform an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the particular developmental trajectory of each and every region, but instead to provide an overview of the major trends, mainly in sanctuaries and their relation with urban foundations, demographic fluctuations and agricultural intensification, undertaken in an effort to look for signs of continuity, discontinuity and change. More discussion on sacred architecture, votive material and ritual will be made in the course of the following chapters.

Introducing the topic of 'sacred landscapes', it is accepted that the term 'landscapes' is polysemic and highly context-dependent. A range of meanings is attached to the term by various scholars of different backgrounds such as poets, philosophers, geographers, historians, architects, anthropologists etc. An attempt to provide a narrow and specific definition may prove futile,[3] but as Finlayson and Dennis argue, its 'slippery notion and flexibility', are part of its attraction.[4] While it is very difficult to define or capture the concept of landscape, it offers a useful means by which to assess changing local conditions.[5] Before proceeding to the Cypriot sacred landscapes of the transition, we therefore need to understand the term in its broader sense in relation to social change. "A closer consideration of the term can allow the concept to become a more powerful way of approaching the past, both in research and interpretation".[6]

2.2. Theoretical Background to the Study of Sacred Landscapes

Landscape archaeology is currently hugely popular. Problems of definition and the fact that the term is used in various ways, not only between different disciplines but also within each discipline, force us briefly to analyse the concept in an archaeological context. It should be acknowledged that the term has also been used very freely in archaeological writings. Many scholars have used the term as a 'fashionable gloss' for survey studies or an improved 'site-catchment analysis'.[7] One should, however, try to understand the term in its broader sense.

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[3] Tilley 1994, 24–25; Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 6; Finlayson and Dennis 2002, 219; Wilkinson 2003, 4; Alcock, Gates and Rempel 2003, 355; Given 2004a, 17.

[4] Finlayson and Dennis 2002, 219.

[5] Alcock, Gates and Rempel 2003, 355–356.

[6] Finlayson and Dennis 2002, 219.

[7] Finlayson and Dennis 2002, 219, 226; Swiny 2004, 55.

Landscape archaeology is an area of study that overcomes the conventional boundaries between disciplines such as anthropology, history and geography, and provides a fresh perspective and a powerful investigative tool to address the research questions of this project. Temporality, spatiality and materiality are all encompassed in the concept of landscapes, and therefore through its study much can be said about human responses to the changing conditions of life over time. The term is concerned both with the conscious and the unconscious shaping of the land and the processes of organising space, and involves interaction between the physical environment and human presence. As Johnson clearly states, "the two senses of the term 'land-scape' are important here: not just the land, but how it is viewed or mentally constructed".[8] Contemporary approaches to landscape research include a broad range of archaeological issues, such as social organisation, rural economy and sacred space, trying to extract agency, ideology, meaning, memory, identity, social order, morality and social transformation from landscapes. While the last few years have seen an intensification of interest in bringing together geographic (concrete and descriptive forms, concerned with determining the nature of and classifying places and the links between them) and sociological 'imaginations' (an aspiration to explain human behaviour and activities in terms of social process abstractly constructed),[9] landscape has been seen by some archaeologists as "the arena in which and through which memory, identity, social order and transformation are constructed, played out, re-invented, and changed".[10] Landscape then, can be seen as the 'arena' for social agency.[11]

Landscape archaeology has followed the main trends of the theoretical developments of archaeology by moving through a number of—although not sequential—stages. Recognising the risk of oversimplification Wilkinson defines three broad strands of landscape archaeology. Firstly, we have the 'cultural-historical' approach (or the school of landscape history), which draws on historical documents, archaeology and the landscape itself; secondly, we have 'processual' approaches, which embody a more 'scientific' methodology, including archaeological survey, off-site and quantitative studies, catchment analysis, settlement archaeology and various ecosystem

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[8] Johnson 2005, 158.
[9] Agnew and Duncan 1989.
[10] Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 10.
[11] Given 2004a, 18.

approaches; finally, we have 'post-processual' approaches, as a reaction to the processual approach, including phenomenological, ideational and symbolic/religious landscapes.[12]

Scientific or functional approaches, under the strand of 'processual' archaeology, have usually predominated, inferring social and economic dimensions of a range of spatial frames and statistical models.[13] However, it was felt that the land remained a neutral and passive object, used by people, but otherwise relatively detached from them.[14] Considering all the different approaches to the study of past landscapes, it should constantly be kept in mind that places and landscapes were formed by the very act of living. The human factor and involvement, therefore, are key concepts which should not be underestimated or overlooked. Moreover, human activity and landscapes' structure and temporality are vital issues, directly associated with the concept and perception of landscape.[15] Already by the 1970s, 'post-processual' and 'post-positivistic' philosophies, humanistic concerns and calls for social relevance, built from existentialism, stucturation, Marxist thought, feminism, idealism, phenomenology, and interactionism, were recast "as matched participants in perpetual dialectic of mutual constitution".[16] Today the most prominent notions of landscape archaeology emphasise its socio-symbolic dimensions: "landscape is an entity that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced, and contextualized by people".[17] Landscape is never inert; people are directly associated with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it.[18]

Landscape archaeology, therefore, has the potential to be truly unifying, bridging the gap between scientific or positivistic archaeologies and those that approach it from the perspective of social theory or the humanities.[19] There is undoubtedly a need for an integrated approach in which all the approaches mentioned above are taken into account. Such a holistic approach and interpretation, which regards landscape as a reflection of society and as an expression of a system of cultural meaning, and which seeks to 'read' the materialisation of ideologies on land and monuments, will be applied to the 'reading' of Cypriot sacred landscapes.

12 Wilkinson 2003, 4.
13 Ashmore 2004, 258.
14 Ashmore 2004, 258.
15 Gamble 2004, 137–138.
16 Ashmore 2004, 258.
17 Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 1.
18 Bender 1993, 3.
19 Thomas 1993, 20.

The term 'sacred landscapes' has been chosen in acknowledgement of the inspiration provided by Alcock's work, which while has been very influential on later studies or on studies of geographic areas outside Greece,[20] it has only recently been introduced to the study of Cypriot sacred landscapes.[21] By using this term in her examination of the Hellenistic and Roman sacred landscapes of the Greek world, Alcock shows that the relationship between religion, politics, identity and memory was more intimate and more involved than has often been assumed.[22] She regards sacred landscapes emerging

> as both culturally constructed and historically sensitive, immensely variable through time and space. Far from being immune to developments in other aspects of human life, they can reflect a very wide cultural and political milieu. Yet they also provide more than a simple mirror of change by their active participation in the conditions of social reproduction.[23]

The investigation of 'ideational' or 'associative' landscapes, where people associate features in the natural and built landscapes with their own memories, meanings or emotions,[24] is particularly relevant to sacred landscapes.[25] 'Ideational', as Knapp and Ashmore argue, is far less linked to an articulated system than the terms 'ideology' or 'ideological'; therefore, it can also be used to embrace sacred as well as other kinds of meanings attached to and embodied in landscapes.[26]

The concept of memory is crucial in the process of socialising landscape and naturalising cultural features in the land. It is created by the repeated movement of the body throughout the landscape. Bender regards landscape as a process, "intensely political, a way of perceiving, experiencing, and remembering the world";[27] landscapes not only shape but are shaped by human experience.[28] Tilley's influential study is concerned explicitly with

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[20] e.g. Khatchadourian 2007; Auffarth 2009.
[21] Papantoniou 2008a.
[22] Alcock 1993a; 1993b; 1994a; 1994b; 1997; 2002; Alcock and Osborne 1994; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a; 2003b; Alcock, Gates and Rempel 2003.
[23] Alcock 1993b, 172.
[24] Alcock 2001, 326–327; cf. Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 12–13.
[25] Given 2004a, 18. Knapp (1996, 72, 94), adopting a landscape perspective in order to examine ritual and ideology, and the role of elites in Cypriot prehistoric economy, seems to prefer the term 'ideational' landscapes to 'sacred'.
[26] Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 12.
[27] Ashmore 2004, 260.
[28] Bender 1993.

phenomenology of landscape as an experience.[29] The experience is 'synesthetic', "an affair of the whole body moving and sensing",[30] "both creating and engaging a narrative linking the body—individual and social group—with the land".[31] The movement of the body through space is crucial, and as it provides people with a particular way of viewing the world, it has important implications for the maintenance of power relations.[32] By controlling the way people move through space, it is possible to reproduce dominant perspectives on the world.[33] Johnston sees landscape as existing through two different understandings of 'perception': the first is where perception acts as a filter on the real world, the second as a process through which people understand the world.[34] In studying landscapes, perception cannot be ignored and it should be acknowledged that perception is not beyond archaeological analysis.[35]

Questions about ascribing meaning to landscapes and issues of social mechanisms by which meaning is attached, as well as the range of meanings that can be encompassed should be raised.[36] Meaning is usually attached through memory and ritual. However, memories and meanings are created afresh from generation to generation and differ between individuals. As Ashmore clearly states, "prominent among the meanings of landscape are power and identity, variously defined and expressed in sundry forms".[37] As landscape delineates memory and declares identity, the land itself, as socially constituted, plays a fundamental role in the social and cultural order and in human relations, and "as a community merges with its habitus through the actions and activities of its members, the landscape may become a key reference point for expressions of individual as well as group identity".[38] The transformation of landscapes has correctly been associated with the transformation of the social order, coming from short-term events (socio-political time) or medium-term cycles (socio-economic time). As Knapp and Ashmore note, since landscapes embody multiple times as well as multiple places, they consequently materialise not only continuity but

29 Tilley 1994.
30 Tilley in Bender 1998, 81; cf. Ashmore 2004, 260–261.
31 Ashmore 2004, 261.
32 Tilley 1994, 27–33; Brück 2005, 47.
33 Tilley 1994, 204.
34 Johnston 1998, 56.
35 Finlayson and Dennis 2002, 221.
36 Ashmore 2004, 263–265.
37 Ashmore 2004, 264.
38 Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 16.

also change and transformation.[39] Landscapes are perpetually under construction and that is why an enduring theme in recent archaeological thought has been the 'reading' of social power from those modified landscapes.[40]

Cherry has emphasised the need to bring into a closer dialogue the various approaches of landscape archaeology.[41] Survey reports should be combined with excavation reports, political history and notions of recent 'archaeologies of landscape'.[42] Emphasis should be given to "the process of re-interpretation and re-working of dynamic landscapes whose changing appearance communicates cultural values and is charged with meaning".[43] The study of Cypriot sacred landscapes, therefore, may become a significant interlocutor, which stimulates the understanding of the broader political and cultural space. Acknowledging the potential of landscape studies to provide a major source of new interpretations on the *longue durée*, this work should be regarded as a modest attempt to re-work and re-experience not only the Cypriot sacred landscapes of the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* but also to further illuminate the political and socio-cultural histories of both these periods when viewed independently.

2.3. Survey Analysis and Its Implications for the Study of Cypriot Sacred Landscapes

The discussion of the continuity or discontinuity of sacred landscapes is based partly on personal research on the data from published excavated sanctuaries and survey projects, and also on a catalogue of 206 sanctuary sites or cult rooms compiled by Ulbrich.[44] It is important to note that a substantial number of the sanctuary sites which appear in Appendix 1 have been located by field survey alone,[45] and thus a brief discussion on the survey fieldwork undertaken in a Cypriot context and its implications for sacred landscapes is required here.[46]

39 Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 18.

40 Crumley 1999, 271.

41 Cherry 2004, 33.

42 Knapp and Ashmore 1999.

43 Cherry 2004, 32–33.

44 Ulbrich 2008; for more information see Appendix 1.

45 For a list of sanctuary sites excavated in Cyprus see Al-Radi 1983, 64–86. However, for a list of sites identified as sanctuaries by their excavators or other scholars, on insufficient published material see Al-Radi 1983, 89–92. For a group of sites that have been called 'favissas' or sanctuary deposits see Al-Radi 1983, 93–95.

46 For a recent critique on Cypriot survey and its neglect see Muhly 2006.

If it is already difficult to recognise sacred space even in excavated sites—which usually reveal some archaeological indicators of ritual[47]—then trying to assign sacred character to sites which are only known from surface material is even more difficult and ambiguous. For instance, in surveys, and in excavations, many possible cult locales, such as caves (seemingly a rare phenomenon in the case of Cyprus),[48] springs, open spaces or grove of trees, can only rarely be archaeologically recovered. Moreover, especially in Cypriot survey studies, a sacred character has often been attributed to a site on account of the presence of terracotta figurine—and sometimes limestone statuette—fragments, even though in many cases their number is very limited. However, the presence of figurines alone does not necessarily suggest the existence of a sanctuary. Figurines can have multiple functions. Figurines, like modern Christian portable icons, for instance, could be carried by people as amulets. Thus, they could be used as items of private/domestic cult; in some instances, they could even be used as toys for children. Moreover, they are also usually used as burial gifts; therefore, the presence of figurines does not necessarily and securely indicate the existence of a sanctuary. Thus, particularly in the case of surveys, the evidence which could confidently justify the presence and the life-span of a sanctuary is very limited. The conclusions about the regional patterning of Cypriot cult based on survey remain tentative, and consequently the chronological range of such activities is equally problematic. Nevertheless, an attempt to interpret the existing evidence, while keeping such reservations firmly in mind, should be made.

As Cherry argues, a sort of 'archaeological source criticism' should be developed in order to control the survey literature and to use the survey data in a comparative way.[49] Even more importantly, the chronological terminology such as 'late Hellenistic' or 'early Roman' (a division which cannot be easily made on the basis of pottery typology) or even 'site', should be defined in greater detail, "lest we end up comparing apples with oranges".[50] As he argues, if one area, minor in size, produces almost as many 'sites' as a major one, then something is most probably amiss; with this imbalance

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47 Renfrew 1985, 259–260.

48 For a collection of the evidence of probable cults practiced in caves in a Cypriot context see Fourrier 2006a, 11–13. However, the majority of the evidence does not refer to a natural cave. For another probable example see Loulloupis 1989, 69.

49 Cherry 2004, 29.

50 Cherry 2004, 29; cf. Shipley 2002, 180–182.

in the data sets, Cherry concludes that "we will end up mired in incompatibilities between data sets which will preclude meaningful comparison".[51]

The discussion of survey systems and their improvement are not among the objectives of this project.[52] The history, problems and results of archaeological field surveys in Cyprus have been summarised elsewhere.[53] This research examines the factors that could illuminate the restrictions and dangers confronted in an effort to interpret Cypriot sacred landscapes while working with off-site data. In earlier years, regional fieldwork on Cyprus, as everywhere else in the Mediterranean,[54] was primarily regarded as a means to produce a sites and monuments record, or as a preliminary step in the process of locating a site suitable for excavation. More sophisticated notions of landscape archaeology and its relationship with social structures were completely missing from the process. Todd clearly outlines the problems faced by archaeological field survey in Cyprus, such as the lack of tell or mound formations, erosion, agricultural terracing, alluviation and aggradation, and the construction of major highways or minor roads due to rapid agricultural and economic development.[55] In addition, large parts of the island—especially in the north—have either been cursorily examined, or, where intensive research has been done, the data remains unpublished. If the understanding of regional interaction and variation is to be enhanced, there is a serious need for further intensive surveys in limited areas, in addition to the publication of all previous survey work.[56]

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51 Cherry 2004, 29. Furthermore, as Alcock (2000, 3) states, "there are numerous surveys still content doggedly to date pieces of pottery, count up site numbers on that basis, and stick dots of varying sizes on maps". For 'site'-definition and further bibliography cf. Sbonias 1999, 2–3. For 'site'-definition and field identification problems, specifically for Cyprus see for example Given et al. 1999, 23–24 and Rupp 2004, 70.

52 This has been done elsewhere, i.e. Alcock and Cherry 2004, although their aim was to consider solutions, not to develop agreed guidelines or standards for how surveys could or should be conducted. For further methodological issues on Mediterranean landscape archaeology, such as the history of research, methods of collection, recording and quantification, cultural depositional processes and post-depositional problems, ceramics and the site, demography, dating, visibility of sites and interpretation of field survey results etc. see Francovich and Patterson 2000; Cherry 2003 and Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider 2004. More specifically, for current issues and future trends in Cypriot survey, see Cherry 2004. For comparative purposes with Cretan landscape archaeology see Gkiasta 2008.

53 Catling 1962, 129–131; Stanley Price 1979; Todd 2004, 1.

54 Alcock and Cherry 2004, 3.

55 Todd 2004, 1–2. For general methodological problems relating to geomorphological processes that result in the wholesale disturbance or loss of archaeological sites and landscapes see Wilkinson 2004, 339–340.

56 Todd 2004, 1.

Regarding the chronological range of the sites, caution is needed when using the chronologies suggested by the various survey projects. The recent conference on archaeological field survey in Cyprus has shown that "a surface scatter can differ from excavation assemblages and that sub-surface features can occur in locations where no artefacts appear on the surface".[57] The life-span of the sanctuaries is usually defined by the presence of pottery; nonetheless changes in votive practices cannot be explained in surface survey. Problems of contemporaneity,[58] mainly when artefacts or pottery of earlier periods are continually used in later periods, should also be considered. In addition to this, it should be said that the problem is above all 'ceramological', i.e. linked to the methods and approaches hitherto employed in the study of ceramics. As Sbonias states, the dating of sites is usually based on a few distinctive wares, rather than on a range of different types, and therefore, it must be considered that the absence of certain wares does not mean an absence of sites, but in fact reflects pottery availability and distribution.[59] Cypriot Iron Age pottery is far from being well studied and 'suffers' greatly from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition typological classification.[60] Ceramicists of Cypriot Iron Age archaeology should further accept and work with the notion that pottery is far from being a passive player in systems of social interaction and emulation, and can be called upon to address more central issues of social life.[61] New approaches to surface survey pottery can indeed add new dimensions to the study of landscape.[62] For certain periods in the Cypriot Iron Age ceramic sequence, it is almost impossible to find someone with relevant expertise and even a faint interest in survey material.

Moreover, as far as can be ascertained, survey fieldwork of the now abandoned Survey Branch of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities and the later surveys of the Department—undertaken only in conjunction with major developments of the non-occupied areas after the abolishment of the Survey Branch in 1976[63]—were mainly conducted not by archaeologists, but

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57 Iacovou 2004c, 14.
58 Alcock, Cherry and Davis 1994, 167.
59 Sbonias 1999, 5–6.
60 Given and Smith 2003, 271–273; Fourrier 2006b, 49–51; Smith 2009, 220–243.
61 Appadurai 1986.
62 Jacobsen 2008.
63 Hadjisavvas 2004. A resolution following the International Conference on 'Archaeological Field Survey: Past History, Future Potentials' advocates the re-establishment of the Survey Branch in the Department of Antiquities; for the text of the resolution see Iacovou 2004b, 16. As this monograph goes to submission for publication the Survey Branch has not been reinstated.

by technicians. Although their experience and first-hand archaeological knowledge should be acknowledged, it should also be accepted that the lack of academic training might have had an impact on the survey results. It should also be emphasised that, up to the 1980s at least, Iron Age archaeologists while searching for monumentality, usually stayed away from any survey activity. Employing a casual procedure for locating sites suitable for excavation, most of the survey projects in Cyprus have been conducted by prehistorians,[64] who were obviously, and justifiably, less familiar with later ceramic wares, and primarily interested in locating areas that were expected to produce prehistoric sites.

The shift in the 1980s to an 'off-site', 'non-site', or 'siteless' survey approach and the shift to encompassing the entire and multi-period 'artifactual' landscape led to the expansion of systematic, team-based survey in defined regional landscapes, with a diachronic and inter/multi-disciplinary focus, and density data collected in databases, utilising revolutionary advances in computing power and remote sensing technologies, as well as more sophisticated notions of landscape archaeology. A more realistic and pragmatic, but also a more complex, view of both limitations and potentials has thus been achieved.[65] As in the case of Greece, recent survey archaeologists undertaking scientific projects in Cyprus seem to have also been more sceptical and cautious about 'finding religion' in the landscape, in relation to previous survey projects.[66] Alcock notes that, on the whole, continued caution seems the wisest course.[67] In addition, models that attempt to account for the entire 'artifactual' landscape in terms of past cultural processes have been developed. Surface assemblages, similar to excavated ones, are now treated as creations and reflections of the social preferences, decisions and options of past individuals and communities, acknowledging their social meanings.[68] In the case of Cyprus, the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP)[69] and now its successor, the Troodos Archaeological and Enviromental Survey Project (TAESP),[70] have taken this type of work to new levels of sophistication, developing exceptionally striking and effective techniques for the spa-

64 Cherry 2004, 27.
65 Pettegrew 2001, 194; Cherry 2004, 23.
66 e.g. Given and Knapp 2003; Todd 2004.
67 Alcock 1994b, 252.
68 Alcock 2000, 2.
69 Knapp et al. 1992; Knapp et al. 1994; Knapp and Given 1996; Given and Knapp 2003; Given 2004b.
70 Given et al. 2001.

tial representation of quantitative survey data.[71] Additionally, more recently, the Palaipaphos Archaeological Project, using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and geophysical prospection, has suggested new ways of understanding the use of the landscape in terms of the different chronological phases and has provided a valuable record which can be used for the guidance of future excavation targets.[72] Further similar projects, with research questions regarding social change, will definitely help illuminate the transitional landscapes from *Basileis* to *Strategos*.

2.4. Cypriot Sacred Landscapes of the Transition

Emphasis will be given to the transitional period between the rule of several *Basileis*, who were the heads of independent polities, to the island-wide rule of the *Strategos*. In line with the aforementioned theoretical and methodological considerations, this era should not be restricted within technical absolute chronologies, since our intention is to understand the transition not only in terms of political change but also in terms of socio-cultural and ideological/ideational conceptions. As we are interested in the long-term, a series of landscapes, mainly the Cypro-Archaic, the Cypro-Classical, the Hellenistic and very briefly the Late Cypriot, the Cypro-Geometric and the Roman will be analysed.

Focusing on the actual landscapes of the transition and the subsequent methodological issues, I will start from the Cypro-Classical sacred landscapes, namely those landscapes that were directly affected by the political change from *Basileis* to *Strategos*. The continuity of cult activity is confirmed by the great number of 'sanctuary sites' that survive into the Hellenistic period and, particularly, by sites which survive well into the Roman period. However, a substantial number of Cypriot sanctuary sites which, either do not survive into the Hellenistic period, or 'die' within it, make improbable the assumption of generic continuity of religious activity. The practice of Cypriot fieldwork raises the issue of the validity of the suggested spatial interpretation of the sites and their chronologies. Is there indeed a noticeable discontinuity in the sacred landscapes from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, or is the aforementioned discontinuity in cult activity simply deceptive? If the

71 Cherry 2004, 29.
72 Sarris et al. 2007.

former is the case, should we connect the abandonment of these sacred places with the socio-political environment of the *Basileis* of Cypro-Classical city-kingdoms or with that of the Ptolemies? Furthermore, how can the continuation of other sites into the Hellenistic period be explained, and what is the relation between ancient Cypriot politics and religion?

To deal with these issues, attention should be turned to well documented excavated sanctuary sites or votive deposits. We should note, however, that the chronological range of a votive deposit is not representative of the life-span of its associated sanctuary. Many times, archaeologists have recovered votive deposits or *bothroi* which are listed in Appendix 1, but their associated sanctuary has not been located. The majority of the sanctuary sites or votive deposits were excavated in previous centuries with antiquarian approaches and methods, usually with no topographical plans and without being systematically published. The change of cult activity or of religious adherence is not an overnight phenomenon. In addition, as Alcock acutely demonstrates when discussing the sacred landscapes of Greece,[73] worship could have continued in some places in a less archaeologically visible way, leaving minimal material traces, which not even the modern and developed methods of research can detect and record, let alone the antiquated fieldwork techniques employed in the first excavation projects. All this information should be kept in mind as the problem is approached.

In what follows, it will be argued that the only way to reach some conclusions is to view Cypriot sacred landscapes from a diachronic, intra-insular perspective. A historically contextual approach which seeks to relate the land with social power, considering elites and non-elites, locals and foreigners, indigenous population and settlers, is necessary. For the purpose of clarity, it might seem that it would be more convenient to separate the discussion into two thematic units: firstly, the sacred landscapes of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, and secondly, the sacred landscapes of the Hellenistic era. However, since the aim is to understand the landscapes of the transition, such a dichotomy would be completely artificial. As our discussion develops, retrospection and merging of the periods will be unavoidable throughout our argument.

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73 Alcock 1994b, 258.

2.4.1. *The Sacred Landscapes of the Cypriot City-Kingdoms*

This section will attempt to contextualise the sacred landscapes of the city-kingdoms period, raising issues about the interaction between political and religious structures, as well as issues regarding the relationship between urban and extra-urban politico-economic and religious space. One needs to approach the difficulties in defining terms, such as urban, extra-urban, territorial, rural etc. in the case of Cyprus. As will be explained, the discussion of many 'regional styles' and their deposition across the spectrum of the Cypriot sanctuaries, in relation to the existence of many city-kingdom political units/identities, becomes crucial to the study of sacred landscapes. By addressing issues of the political history of the period and a range of archaeological theory, it is hoped that a more effective reconstruction of the sacred landscapes can be achieved.

Cypro-Classical Landscapes in Transition

The direct relationship between political elites, economic activity and religion for the era of Cypriot city-kingdoms has been archaeologically identified and underlined by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the so-called 'palace' of Vouni.[74] More recently this straightforward relationship has been reassessed and proven beyond question by the ongoing excavation of the French expedition in the administrative centre of Amathous. At the so-called 'palace' of Amathous, storage jars, votive gifts—some of which might be directly associated with royalty—and evidence of archival work (including clay sealings and bronze styluses) have been found.[75] At least two sanctuaries directly associated with the administrative building can be identified (ch. 3.3.2). As seen in the following chapter the 'palace' with its sanctuaries was destroyed or abandoned at the end of the Cypro-Classical period. This destruction/abandonment could have been an episode connected with the abolition of the city-kingdoms, and consequently, with the military and political acts of the Hellenistic *Diadochoi*. The administrative centre of Idalion also seems to have been abandoned at the end of the fourth century BC. However, the existing publication reports do not allow us to understand firstly, whether any sanctuaries are directly associated with the administrative centre, and secondly, whether towards the end of the fourth century BC, what is attested is an abandonment or a destruction.[76] Again,

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[74] Gjerstad 1932; 1933; *SCE* 3: 111–292; Hellström 2009.

[75] Petit 1989; 1991a; 1991b; 1995a; 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; 1998; 2001; 2002.

[76] M. Hadjicosti, the most recent excavator of the 'acropolis' of Idalion—and therefore

in the cases of Soloi, Palaipaphos-Hadji Abdullah, Palaipaphos-Evreti, and recently Marion, where buildings of monumental elegance have been excavated, the published reports or the scale of excavation do not allow any clear or conclusive results.[77] Therefore no further relevant information can be extracted.

The only destructions of sanctuaries which, according to modern scholarship based on literary and excavated evidence, could possibly be attributed to the Ptolemies are some of the Kition, Tamassos and Marion shrines.[78] Diodorus (19.79.4) informs us that the *Basileus* of Kition, Pumiyaton, was killed by Ptolemy for negotiating with Antigonus. However, since the so-called 'destruction levels' are neither stratigraphically clear nor sufficiently justified in the publications, such an interpretation could possibly be related to modern colonial or post-colonial hellenocentric thought (ch. 1.3). The cult activity at Kition-Bamboula, a sanctuary primarily dedicated to Heracles/Melqart (or to Reshef/Mikal)[79] and which was afterwards identified by the French as the 'Royal Sanctuary of Astarte and Melqart',[80] is believed to have ceased to operate at the end of the fourth century BC (end of period 8 of the sanctuary site). In the beginning of the Hellenistic period many of the ex-votos were buried in a large, rectangular pit dug down through the debris of the inner temene of periods 6 and 7, and partly down to the level of the temenos of period 5. Afterwards, the pit was filled and its presence was marked by a platform of limestone slabs built on top of the debris. According to the Swedes, after the destruction of this temple the place was no longer used for sacred purposes. It was then occupied as a Hellenistic secular house

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the most accurate source—both in bibliography, but also in personal communication with the author (March 2007), refers to abandonment at the end of the fourth century BC, instead of destruction; cf. Hadjicosti 1997, 59–60. Walker and Stager (1989, 466) and Gaber and Dever (1996, 92), however, refer to 'massive destructions' around 300 BC.

77 For Soloi see Ginouvès 1989, 29–32. For Palaipaphos-Evreti see Maier and Wartburg 1985a, 113–117. For Palaipaphos-Hadji Abdullah see Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 207–208; Maier and von Wartburg 1985b, 155; Maier and Wartburg 1994, 118; Iacovou 2010, 14, 2012. For a general review of all the above buildings see Maier 1989a. For Marion, where recently a 'structure of public character' has been partly excavated see Papalexandrou 2006; 2008.

78 *SCE* 3: 74–75; Nicolaou, K. 1976, 105, 108; Karageorghis 1976, 116, 172; 1982, 168; Yon 1992, 335; 1994, 10, 12; 2007, 60; Collombier 1993, 133–134; Mehl 2000, 738–739; Anastassiades 2007a, 167. Violent destruction has also been indirectly linked with some of the Golgoi sanctuaries (i.e. Athienou-Giorkous sanctuaries in Ulbrich 2008, 295–297; cf. Bakalakis 1988, 160), but in the absence of adequate archaeological context we cannot investigate these cases in greater detail. In any case, these destruction episodes, again, should be viewed in the context of a political rather than a religious, cultural or 'ethnic' war.

79 Hermary 1986a, 406; Yon 1986, 143.

80 cf. Calvet 1993, 122.

of store-rooms and workshops. However, more recently, the French expedition of Kition, using more definite chronological evidence,[81] such as coins and pottery, has challenged the notion that the sanctuary was destroyed by Ptolemaic troops.[82] According to the French archaeologists, Black Lustrous Hellenistic ware which coincides with period 8, disproves the Swedish interpretation of demolition. It is believed that the aforementioned cultic material belongs to an unidentified sanctuary, perhaps the one described by Ohnefalsh-Richter as 'the temple of Astarte' and which has been lost to us. This material provides evidence for cultic continuity up to the end of the third century BC, one century after the Ptolemaic annexation of Kition. The sanctuary was then abandoned, probably for various internal reasons which cannot be determined. However, the temples at Kition-Kathari or the 'temples of Astarte' were in use from the beginning of the ninth until the end of the fourth century BC. The abandonment level dates on pottery grounds to the very end of the fourth century BC.[83] The cultic use of the place ceased and the strata of later periods include only some modest domestic building. Additionally, archaeological evidence probably indicates some sort of destruction for the Tamassos precinct of Aphrodite.[84] However, in Tamassos, the sacred character of the site is not abandoned, but the continued cultic activity is characterised by great alterations and architectural modifications. At Marion-Maratheri, finally, a building at area A.H9, interpreted as a sanctuary, has provided possible evidence for destruction connected with the Ptolemies, as suggested by the excavators.[85]

Nonetheless, if we consider the attitude of the Cypriot *Basileis* during the conflict of the *Diadochoi*, and the alliance of Kition against the Ptolemies, it should be emphasised that at least for the case of Kition, and maybe for Tamassos and Marion, these demolition episodes should be associated with a political rather than a religious, cultural or 'ethnic' war;[86] the early Ptolemies not only allowed some old and wealthy Cypro-Phoenician families to continue to prosper but they probably even tolerated some minor 'Phoenician' rulers within their rule of Cyprus;[87] such 'local Phoenician

[81] Wright 1995, 842.

[82] Salles 1993, 106–110, 349, note 10; cf. Calvet 1993, 123; Yon 2006, 111 and Fourrier 2007a, 435.

[83] Karageorghis 1976, 118; Collombier 1993, 134; Yon 2006, 88.

[84] *BCH* 105(2): 997; Tatton-Brown 1985, 70; Anastassiades 2007a, 167.

[85] Childs 1988, 124–125; 2008, 68.

[86] Mehl 2000, 738; Anastassiades 2007a, 167–168.

[87] Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 13; Parmentier 1987; Anastassiades 2007a, 167–168.

rulers', however, should not be seen in any different sense than continuity of civic offices in other Cypriot cities.[88] Additionally, 'Phoenician' gods, such as Astarte, Anat, Reshef and Melqart continue to be worshipped as the epigraphic evidence attests.[89]

This argument about a political rather than a cultural or religious war finds support in the anthropological and sociological theory discussed earlier; political elites usually reinforce their dominant position by demonstrating their ability to manipulate the conquered land through agency and ideology, which reproduces rather than transforms the social order.[90] And as maintained throughout this work, social order in the Cypriot Iron Age is directly linked with religion. Had the Ptolemies turned against the established Cypriot religious traditions, it would not have been to their benefit. Moreover, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, such as the transfer of the capital to Nea Paphos, constructions and reinforcements of city-walls, constructions of temples with *cella* etc., strongly suggest that the active presence of Ptolemaic power on the island belongs to the late rather than the early third century BC, i.e. in Hellenistic II period. In this context, it should be mentioned that during the first decades of their presence in Cyprus, the Ptolemies had to fight against the rest of the *Diadochoi* for political stability in their possessions, stability which even later rarely existed. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the main sanctuaries, located within the immediate environs of the urban centres, such as the sanctuaries of Aphrodite in Palaipaphos and Amathous, and the sanctuary of Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion, continue to flourish during the Hellenistic period. While the Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic strata of the Palaipaphos sanctuary are less familiar to us, the massive amount of votive inscriptions highlights the importance of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period (Appendix 2: table 1).[91] Architectural activity at the Kourion[92] and Amathous[93] sanctuaries is another element of continuity. Furthermore, the numerous votive terracottas from the

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88 cf. Hatzopoulos 2009.

89 Anastassiades 2007a, 168.

90 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 180.

91 Mitford 1961a. Apart from a late Hellenistic Doric capital, built into the Roman Stoa, and some buildings probably dating from the late Hellenistic period, no other structures of the period survived the rebuilding of the first/second century BC: Maier and Wartburg (1985b, 159) and *ARDAC* 2007, 59. As Maier and Wartburg (1985b, 159) however argue, the innermost shrine already presented the same appearance as in Roman times, as second century BC clay sealings from Nea Paphos demonstrate.

92 Soren 1986, 399; 1987, 39.

93 Hermary and Schmid 1996, 120–122; 1998, 64.

Amathous sanctuary, which lies on the summit but close to the 'palace', are a major indicator of its enhancement in the Hellenistic period.[94] Besides, we have to remember that the majority of sanctuary sites located beyond the urban horizon were not interrupted, but survived well into the Hellenistic period. We will be concerned with these sites later in this chapter.

Sanctuaries and Territorial Claims

As Iacovou emphasises "no honest scholar can claim precise knowledge of the number, let alone the names and the boundaries, of the Cypriote city-kingdoms at any one time during their existence".[95] Furthermore, with the exception of the bronze tablet from Idalion, which is discussed below, we remain totally ignorant about the organisation of land tenure and tenancy during the era of city-kingdoms in relation to the political elites and administration. Mitford, in his study of Roman milestones, has argued that the Roman civic territories would be similar to those of the earlier city-kingdoms;[96] this interpretation, although valid if we consider the natural resources of the island and their effect in the construction of geographic entities, still remains hypothetical. Our assessment of what was 'centre' and what was 'periphery' or 'territory' is, in the case of Cyprus, too relative. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggest the existence of secondary urban centres in the vicinity of the capital centres of the city-kingdoms and their rural space, villages and farmsteads.[97] While 'rural' has the connotation of something which is used only by people, mainly farmers, living in the countryside in many cases could be totally misleading in the case of Cypriot sanctuaries as will be discussed below. Consequently, in many cases, our views of what was rural or territorial position are simply anachronistic.

The aforementioned arguments demonstrate that the terms 'rural' and 'territorial' sanctuaries could carry different meanings and their use could become problematic. Many scholars working on Cyprus, influenced by models deriving from mainland Greece and Magna Graecia, have usually adopted categorisations for the Cypriot sanctuaries, such as 'urban', 'sub-urban', 'peri-urban' and 'rural' (from the viewpoint of distance from the 'centre').[98] Fourrier adopts a categorisation that brings together political and economic perspectives: she considers as 'urban' sanctuaries those lying in a

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94 Queyrel 1988.
95 Iacovou 2004a, 263.
96 Mitford 1980, 1132–1141; cf. Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 232–276.
97 Fourrier 2002, 142.
98 e.g. Swinton 1996; Collombier 1999; Hermary 2001a, 11; Fourrier 2007b; Ulbrich 2008.

privileged position within the core of the city-kingdom and their material is primarily, if not exclusively of local production; 'peri-urban' sanctuaries are those within the very immediate environ of the urban centres; 'territorial' those in the countryside; and 'frontier' those in the limit-zones of the city-kingdoms.[99] The term 'extra-urban', which is preferred in the context of this monograph, is not unproblematic, but is more flexible. As de Polignac states, it shows clearly the relation of these 'extra-urban' sites with the town.[100] The town centre in its vicinity gathers the sanctuaries which protect its political institutions. With the exception of the 'palatial' sanctuaries at Amathous and possibly the shrines of Kition, Tamassos and Marion, the majority of the abandoned Cypro-Classical sanctuaries belong to this category. Most of these sanctuaries were situated in the agriculturally rich inland plain of the Mesaoria, a place where the boundaries of significant Cypro-Classical city-kingdoms would have been located. The terms 'boundary', 'frontier', 'border' or 'landmark' in relation to sanctuaries are equally problematic. Although the term 'frontier' has the connotation of dynamic, it is without defined limits, while the term 'boundary' has the connotation of stability and defined limits.[101] As the following discussion will reveal, one needs to be very careful when dealing with those issues in the case of Cyprus.

The role of locales in processes of social production and reproduction has already been emphasised. Drawing on their stocks of knowledge of the landscape and their locales, people can give meaning, assurance and significance to their lives; feelings of belonging and rootedness, as well as ontological concerns are therefore created.[102] It would be needless to expand further on the symbolic values of sanctuaries as common places for social protection and communication between the secular and the sacred, as well as the transition from the one space to the other. These remarks, however, should be enough to explain the power of sanctuary as place.

In the context of the long-term analysis that this project undertakes, the Late Cypriot sacred landscapes should be briefly considered. The strategic or symbolic value of sanctuaries has been recognised by various scholars. Knapp, preferring the term 'ideational' rather than 'sacred' as a bigger and more inclusive concept,[103] has adequately argued that these Bronze Age

99 Fourrier 2007b, 123.
100 de Polignac 1994, 4.
101 Fourrier 2002, 136.
102 Tilley 1994, 26.
103 Knapp 1999, 248; cf. Given and Knapp 2003, 311–312.

Cypriot landscapes were closely linked to industrial activities, especially related to copper; the appropriation, distribution, and consumption of various resources, labour and land was succeeded by the elites through exploitation of supernatural knowledge.[104] Within ideational landscapes social identities, ideological authorities and socio-economic relations seem to have been established through various processes of empowerment and legitimisation.[105] While the importance of urban sanctuaries in the Late Bronze Age will be demonstrated below, 'rural' sanctuaries, such as Myrtou-Pigadhes, Agios Iakovos-Dhima and Athienou-Bamboulari tis Koukounninas, have been seen by various scholars as crucial for assessing the symbolic aspects of ideational landscapes and as playing a significant role in internal socio-political and economic relations.[106] Considering that the foundation horizon of the Cypriot city-kingdoms lies well within multi-layered Late Bronze Age continuities,[107] the statements above are a good starting point to move towards the Iron Age sanctuaries. In this context, it is particularly important to introduce issues of memory into the discussion by mentioning that a number of Iron Age sanctuaries were built within the ruins of various Late Bronze Age urban monuments.[108] The Early Iron Age Cypriot sacred landscapes are very difficult to approach. We can, however, identify sanctuary sites in the countryside in the end of the Cypro-Geometric period. This, according to Fourrier, relates to the consolidation of the city-kingdoms and their territories.[109]

The multiplication of the extra-urban sanctuaries in the Cypro-Archaic I period represents the climax of a process that started well into the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. While urban sanctuaries become religious communal centres, where social, cultural and political identities are affirmed, an indication of the probable use of extra-urban sacred space in the political setting of the various city-kingdoms has recently been observed by various scholars.[110] The only written evidence putting forward the question of territory in relation to the political power, comes from the aforementioned

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104 Given and Knapp 2003, 312.
105 Knapp 1986; 1996; 1997.
106 Catling 1975, 193; Webb 1999; Knapp 1999; Given and Knapp 2003, 312–313.
107 Iacovou 2002a, 83–85; cf. Papantoniou forthcoming.
108 Hadjicosti 1989, 119; Fourrier 2007b, 122; Papantoniou forthcoming.
109 Fourrier 2006c, 108–109; 2007b, 109; cf. Papantoniou forthcoming.
110 Collombier 1991b, 39; 2003, 144; Masson and Hermary 1992, 26 (although referring to a later period); Hermary 1996a, 42; 1998a, 266; Fourrier 1999; 2000; 2002; 2006a; 2007b; Rupp 2000, 1095; Counts 2004, 175; Nys and Recke 2004, 213; Papantoniou 2008a; Given and Smith 2003; Smith 2009, 253.

bronze fifth century BC tablet from Idalion, which records a decree of the *Basileus* Stasikypros and the *demos* of Idalion to donate land to the physician Onasilos as a reward for his medical help to Idalion warriors, on the occasion of an unsuccessful siege by the Kitians or the Persians.[111] It reads: "… *the King and the City would grant Onasilos from the land of the King in the Malanian Plain the property adjoining the orchard of Amenias with all the young plants thereon which extends to the river Drymios and to the sanctuary of Athana* …".[112] In Fourrier's interpretation, we might learn from the Idalion tablet that the territories of the Cypriot city-kingdoms were organised in smaller regions that worked as secondary administrative centres.[113] Additionally, although, from the tablet, we can assume the importance of the sanctuary of Athena as a landmark within the land of the *Basileus*,[114] we cannot extend its significance to a political or territorial landmark.

The absence of treaties in textual or epigraphic evidence and the absence of fortresses in the archaeological landscape of the era of city-kingdoms make it difficult to define the territories. Natural landscape phenomena, such as lakes, springs, rivers, mountains, paths, gardens and mines should be accorded both with practical utilities and cosmic meanings,[115] and could work as frontiers. This is definitely more apparent in the Mesaoria plain, where the natural features, with the exception of the Gialias and Pediaios rivers, are limited, and where the boundaries of several city-kingdoms would have periodically been placed.[116] It should be expected that each city-kingdom organised its surrounding landscape in a different way and landscape variation, therefore, was a prominent phenomenon among city-kingdoms: Salamis, for instance, which was situated in the open space of the Mesaoria plain, would organise its landscape in a different way than Idalion, which was surrounded by small plains and hills.[117] Nevertheless, in the case of Cyprus natural landscape phenomena do not necessarily define political space. They only create regional units which might have helped the political organisation of the island.[118]

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111 Masson 1961, 235–244, no. 217, pls XXXIX–XXXV.
112 Translation from French by Given 1991, 51.
113 Fourrier 2002, 142–144.
114 Given 1991, 51.
115 Crumley 1999, 271.
116 Counts 2004, 174–175, note 3.
117 Fourrier 2002, 141.
118 Collombier 1991, 25. On the Cypriot geology and landforms see Christodoulou 1959, 7–18.

The works of Iacovou and Satraki,[119] in fact, demonstrate how copper mines and hydrological zones are particularly important in the creation of self-contained physical regions; from the physical regions one can move to political regions, and consequently to the territorial construction of the Cypriot city-kingdoms. In particular, the recent fieldwork of the University of Cyprus at Palaipaphos has clearly shown how religion, copper production and harbours work as the 'triptych' *par excellence* of the Cypriot politico-economic activity from the Late Bronze Age to end of the city-kingdoms; the monumental urban sanctuaries of Palaipaphos and Kition, where evidence of metal workshops has been found, located front of the city harbours, demonstrate how urban sanctuaries had had a direct relation to the management of copper and its exportation. The relation between copper production and divine protection for the Late Bronze Age, although debated,[120] should be underlined. While Palaipaphos and Kition sanctuaries present continuity from the Late Bronze Age, the 'triptych' of 'religion, production (copper and agriculture) and hydrological routes/harbour' seems to apply to other Late Cypriot sites that had to be transferred due to the silting of their rivers and harbours: e.g. Enkomi moved to Salamis and Hala Sultan Tekke moved to Kition. Both of the sites appear as city-kingdoms in the Cypro-Archaic period. Copper production and harbours, of course, remain central during the period of the city-kingdoms, and they are later incorporated in the politico-economic system of the Ptolemaic and Roman administration.[121]

Excavation of other shrines, such as Achna, Idalion-Aphrodite and Agia Irini, has produced evidence which is also confirmed by more recent excavation activity,[122] and which highlights the role of the Cypriot Iron Age sanctuary as a focus of wealth disposal and economic control in the community:[123] we have evidence for the segmentation of space, display and disposal of votives, consumption of food and drink, industrial activities,[124] and

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119 Iacovou 2007a; 2007c, 18; 2008a; 2008b; 2010; 2012; Satraki 2012, 335–340.

120 Knapp 1986; Webb 1999, 297–304; 2003, 17. For a brief summary of previously published discussions on the subject and for re-addressing the question of the link between the copper industry and religion see Kassianidou 2005.

121 Iacovou, 2008b, 635–639, 651; 2010, 14–19; 2012.

122 Smith 1997; Pilides 2007; 2009, 58.

123 Beer 1992; Fischer 2001.

124 The suggestions of Muhly, that the main function of sanctuary workshops was to manufacture the votive offerings dedicated nearby in the appropriate *cella*, inner sanctum or temenos, should also be noted (cited in Knapp 1996, 89 after a personal communication he had with Muhly).

large-scale storage. Similarly to the evidence presented above regarding religion and copper production, olive production, better evidenced from the Hellenistic period, has been regarded as having a direct association with sanctuaries and divine protection.[125] Sanctuaries, therefore, seem to have played an active role in this politico-economic framework.

The important contribution of Fourrier, influenced by de Polignac's model, according to which the act of founding Greek—mostly extra-urban—sanctuaries expressed notions and intentions of territorial domination and sovereignty,[126] to the discussion of boundaries in the Cypro-Archaic period, should be underlined here.[127] By using a variety of literary and archaeological evidence, Fourrier explores religious and cultural spheres of influence. The Cypro-Archaic period is decisive for the consolidation of the power of the city-kingdoms and for the construction of their territories. It is during this period that the proliferation of the extra-urban sanctuaries, especially in the plain of Mesaoria, takes place. Even though many survey projects demonstrate that this phenomenon could be a result of demographic expansion, Fourrier states that this argument is not sufficient to explain this multiplication.[128] At least some of these sanctuaries should be regarded as part of a system characterised by political competition and the legitimation of power. Using anthropological parallels and analogy, it can be inferred that, indeed, "monuments and ordered landscapes domesticate unused territories and symbolize the appropriation of space, organizing and materializing social relationships and boundaries".[129] The distribution of these sanctuaries across the landscape could, therefore, serve as a map for a socio-political system providing a mechanism for the centralised city-kingdom authorities to organise and control their peripheries. "Les sanctuaires, en regroupant les communautés autour de cultes communs, jouent un rôle dans l'organization politique et culturelle du territoire, où ils servent de relais et de marqueurs".[130]

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125 Hadjisavvas 1988; 1992a; 1992b; 1996.

126 de Polignac 1984; as Whitley (1996, 315) demonstrates, that publication of de Polignac marks a decisive break in the study of Greek religion, as the emphasis is placed on the position of sacred spaces in the landscape in relation to settlements, territories and boundaries. For criticism regarding the applicability of de Polignac's model see Malkin 1996 and Pedley 2005, 52–56.

127 Fourrier 2002; 2007b, 121–124.

128 Fourrier 2002, 137.

129 DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 19.

130 Fourrier 2002, 137.

It is probably not accidental, or results only from access/or non access to limestone quarries, that the best corpus of monumental limestone sculpture of Cypriot dignitaries or even of probable 'royal types'[131] comes from extra-urban sanctuaries, especially those located in the plain of the Mesaoria.[132] As will further be analysed in the 'portraits' chapter, those statues, although they functioned as dedications to the gods, "were primarily used to convey a social message".[133] As Hermary notes, with the exception of Idalion, the number of the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical stone sculptures from the urban sanctuaries of Amathous, Salamis, Soloi, Kourion, Marion and even Kition, in relation to terracotta dedications, is very limited.[134] It is important to note, however, that even if more limited in number, the southern and western urban centres of Cyprus have produced limestone sculptures and—as will be further argued in the Amathous section—other royal limestone symbols. Therefore, we should probably rethink how issues of distance from the stone quarries affected the distribution of sculpture. One should also consider the existence of monumental terracotta statues of similar importance, such as those found in the sanctuary of Agia Irini and at Marion.[135] Senff summarises the importance and the rich differentiation of those sculptures, achieved through the adaptation of royal styles and eclectic borrowings from the Mediterranean empires; the aristocratic meaning of specific types, such as those wearing Egyptian royal crowns, diadem etc., is probably indicated by the fact that they were almost never exported.[136] As explained below, the distribution of the royal image in the sanctuaries seems to have stressed the claim of domination over the territory. It is further discussed in the 'portraits' chapter how we might get a vivid picture of the hierarchical order of Cypriot society if we imagine those statues set up in the sanctuaries as groups.[137]

Furthermore, according to epigraphic and votive evidence, many of those extra-urban sanctuaries share a common preference for male divine types such as Apollo and Reshef,[138] or Heracles, Zeus-Ammon and Pan.[139] These

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131 Hermary 1989a, 262; 1989b; 2005, 113; Maier 1989b; Mylonas 1998, 125, 128, 145. For a general recent discussion on the issue see Satraki 2004; 2008; 2012, 360–373.
132 Fourrier 2002, 141.
133 Sørensen 1994, 79.
134 Hermary 1994a, 124.
135 For Agia Irini see *SCE* 2; Winbladh 2003. For Marion see Serwint 1991; 1992.
136 Senff 2005, 103.
137 Senff 2005, 103.
138 Hermary 1996a, 42; 1998a, 266.
139 Counts 2004.

deities could represent an ideological conception of regional cult activity which could also be associated with political, cultural and social boundaries. Some of the offerings from those sanctuaries might be associated with a male god of warlike or of an agrarian character.[140] The armed statues and terracotta figurines in sanctuaries, such as the well documented votives of the Agia Irini sanctuary,[141] might indeed be associated with such an ideological construction. In addition, with the exception of the Apollo *Hylates* sanctuary at Kourion and a male god assimilated with Zeus at Salamis,[142] the main sanctuaries of the well-known urban centres are usually devoted primarily to a female deity. Although a detailed analysis of this argument would take us away from the pre-defined channels of this study, the work of Ulbrich should be mentioned as a reference point that could shed more light on this issue.[143] Her study of diagnostic votive assemblages provides the means and sufficient evidence to assign about half of the epigraphically unidentified sites to either a goddess, a god or to a divine couple. The rest of the sites cannot be attributed to a male or female deity with confidence, due to the state of conservation of the votive sculptures. What is important to keep in mind is that some of these male and female deities seem to have been particularly involved in the royal ideology (ch. 3.3.5).

Regional Styles and Their Implications on Sacred Landscapes

Another crucial issue in the discussion of the city-kingdoms' sacred landscapes is the existence of several artistic regional styles. Fourrier, discussing terracottas from Cypriot sanctuaries, highlights the importance of the diffusion of regional styles that we meet in the sanctuaries, which becomes more apparent in the Cypro-Archaic period, in an effort to define zones of cultural influences. Therefore, different types of terracottas (of both large and small scale) correspond to different production zones, which she assigns to the landscapes of the various Cypriot Iron Age city-kingdoms (fig. 1).[144]

140 Hermary 1998a, 267; Petit 2001, 61–62.

141 Törnkvist 1972; Karageorghis 1993, 90–91; Winbladh 2003, 152; Beer 2009.

142 The pre-Hellenistic centres of Kourion and Salamis, however, are hardly known. While the sanctuary of Zeus at Salamis has been regarded as 'urban', that of Apollo *Hylates* of Kourion has been regarded as 'peri-urban'.

143 Ulbrich 2005, 199; 2008. Additionally, as Swinton (1996, 76) demonstrates, whilst the established urban sanctuaries, are all—with the exception of Salamis-Campanopetra—apparently 'female in character', the sub-urban temene are all 'male'. The Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili case is so far unique, according to Swinton, as Idalion has two sub-urban temene, and one of these, the Idalion- Apollo/Reshef, is indeed of 'male character'.

144 Fourrier 1999, 23–139; 2002, 139; 2006a; 2007b.

However, she rightly stresses the difficulties and dangers inherent in supposing that these zones coincide with the geographical or political ones.[145]

Although style is one of the most trustworthy methods for recognising patterns in the archaeological evidence, at the same time it is one of our most slippery terms; stylistic patterns do not always correspond to regional styles and do not necessarily reflect cultural or social identity.[146] Regional styles have created a serious misunderstanding in the case of Iron Age Cyprus, to the point that because the majority of the stone sculpture from Tamassos can be placed within the 'Idalion style',[147] "we might infer that Tamassos was in fact a subordinate polity, governed by local elites, but economically secondary to Idalion".[148] Additionally, Fourrier based on the style of the terracotta figurines, reaches the conclusion that, probably, already during the Cypro-Archaic period, Tamassos was dependent on Idalion.[149] Although this is an interesting interpretation, it is probably contradicted by the epigraphic evidence according to Satraki.[150] Furthermore, because of the existence of regional styles, *a priori* dictated or not by governing elites, the issue of the political status of the Cypriot craftsmen in relation to those elites could even be addressed.[151] More paradoxically, again, the starting point for comparison and interpretation is Near Eastern and Aegean models. Art has always been an agent of political power and ideology. However, our interpretations should remain extremely cautious and context-oriented. Conclusions related to the subordination, or not, of Tamassos to Idalion or any other polity, should not be dependent on the 'Idalion style' or other stylistic analyses.

Art-historical approaches, inspired by the trilingual tradition of Iron Age Cyprus, and with the intention of relating the material culture with ethnicities, cultural and political identities, have contributed greatly to the misunderstanding created by regional styles.[152] This issue in relation to the votive sculpture was touched upon earlier in this monograph, when exam-

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145 Fourrier 2002, 139–140.
146 Gamble 2004, 120, 207.
147 Gaber-Saletan 1986; Gaber 1989.
148 Nys and Recke 2004, 216.
149 Fourrier 2004, 201.
150 Satraki 2012, 329.
151 Nys and Recke 2004, 213, 217–219.
152 For a discussion on ethnicity and material culture, including problems such as the idea of archaeological cultures as ethnic entities and the straightforward stylistic correlations with ethnic groups see Jones 1997, 106–127. As Jones (1997, 113) observes, "it has been widely recognized in anthropology and sociology that a one-to-one relationship between ethnicity and cultural similarities and differences cannot be assumed …".

ining the history of research in the Cypriot sanctuaries. However, objects do not equate to people and such biased conceptions clearly derive from modern western ways of thinking and practices of defining cultures by notions of race, ethnicity and language.[153] Styles in clothing, for instance, do not always imply an ethnic identity, but also the interaction of people living in a complex, multi-lingual and polytheistic society. Iacovou has been instrumental in advocating that the striking feature of the material culture of Iron Age Cyprus is its relative homogeneity, which disqualifies this line of thought.[154] "Despite having chosen political fragmentation, expressions of statehood in the material culture of the island, as well as in its sacred and mortuary landscape, were strikingly homogenous both in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age".[155] If sculptures and "vases are unable to tell of 'Greek', 'Phoenician' or 'Eteocypriot' ethnics in Cyprus",[156] they are equally unable to define political or cultural boundaries.

The archaeological record in the various city-kingdoms is highly repetitive. Even in the case of Amathous, a city-kingdom which is distinguished by a linguistic idiosyncrasy of the so-called Eteocypriots, the pottery style, tomb architecture and coroplastic arts, while indeed appearing to have some particularities in the structure, shapes and decoration,[157] nonetheless seem to follow the general Cypriot city-kingdoms cultural *koine*; therefore it could be argued that style and stylistic patterns do not coincide with any political decisions, military alliances or issues of identity and ethnicity. Similarly, some cremations in the western necropolis of Amathous,[158] or some stylistic particularities of the cultic/votive material in the Limassol-Komissariato and Agios Tychonas-Asvestoton sanctuaries most probably lying within the 'Amathousian territory',[159] have undoubtedly a 'Phoenician

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153 Sherratt, E.S. 1992, 316–317.

154 Iacovou 1999; 2006a; 2007a, 469; 2008a, 248.

155 Iacovou 2007a, 469.

156 Iacovou 2006a, 41.

157 Hermary 1987, 376–377; Petit 1995b, 64; 1999, 110; 2007, 95; Aupert 1997, 19–23; Budin 2004, 117; Fourrier 2008c. For further discussion on the Amathousian tomb architecture see Given 1991, 107–108; Janes 2010, 133; and Satraki 2012, 204–205.

158 *BCH* 117(2): 752; Karageorghis, 1995a, 329–330; Aupert 1997, 24; Christou 1998; Budin 2004, 118.

159 Fourrier 2007b, 124; Fourrier and Petit-Aupert 2007; Alpe 2007. This argument is based on the existence of particular types of 'Phoenician' terracotta figurines (of local production), unique to these two sites. According to Alpe (2007, 65), these discoveries "show a strong Phoenician influence in local crafts but they do not give indisputable proof for a Phoenician presence in the Amathus kingdom".

character', but these finds should not be used as an argument to move the city away from the general Iron Age system. The epigraphic evidence from the city-kingdom includes Eteocypriot, Greek and Phoenician languages,[160] but does not supply any patterns for division between linguistic communities. Amathous, in other words, clearly follows the Iron Age cultural *koine*, and there is no adequate evidence to suggest that the Iron Age Cypriot society developed on the basis of culturally or linguistically distinct settlements.[161]

Modern assumptions about the exclusive and antagonistic nature of Cypriot 'ethnic' groups should be abandoned.[162] Issues of intermarriage and intermixing should also be considered; in Kition, for instance, intermarriage between 'Greeks' and 'Phoenicians' has been recorded on funeral tombstones.[163] What is more, as Yon argues, the so-called Phoenician Kition has proved to belong to the same cultural matrix as the rest of the Cypriot city-kingdoms; in certain specific characteristics, such as the language and some funerary practices, it might have differed, but this is not to say that it did not share the same multi-layered and multi-interacting cultural system of first millennium BC Cyprus.[164] Those ethnicity conceptions have even been transferred to religion, and archaeologists have been particularly keen to find 'Phoenician deities' on the island or to identify the cults of the ancient 'Greek-Cypriots'.[165] There is, however, no such distinct thing as a Phoenician or Greek set of cults in Cyprus. 'Phoenician' deities, for example, have been found at most city-kingdom sites in Cyprus, and not only in the so-called 'Phoenician' Kition. As the Amathous case study will demonstrate, this calls primarily for internal transformations and associations rather than external impositions or assimilations. On the other hand, as Fourrier argues, "les royaumes chypriotes sont en définitive avantage des États territoriaux que de États nationaux".[166]

Let us focus on terracotta figurines as these have been widely studied and published. Karageorghis, in his major corpus on the coroplastic art of ancient Cyprus, clearly shows that communication and relations between the various city-kingdoms of the island would have been relatively straight-

160 Fourrier 2008a.
161 Sherratt, E.S. 1992, 330; Iacovou 2008b, 635.
162 Maier 1985; Given 1991.
163 Hadjisavvas 1986, 364; 2007b, 191.
164 Yon 1997, 15.
165 e.g. Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1978; Bennett 1980.
166 Fourrier 2002, 144.

forward.[167] As he argues, there must have been a cultural uniformity, which is also apparent in other artistic styles such as vase-painting. A stronger uniformity would characterise the eastern part of the island, but there is no question of a linear barrier between the eastern and western parts of the island. He adds that there may also have been itinerant sculptors. In addition, Hermary, studying monumental terracotta sculptures, has suggested that Salamis might have been a major production centre, responsible for the manufacture of moulds that influenced the rest of the island; what is more, these moulds could even be exported abroad.[168]

The complexity of regional variation is demonstrated more clearly in Fourrier's work on Cypriot terracottas.[169] While a distinction in styles and techniques definitely exists between various localities—and, if we want to broadly generalise between eastern and western Cyprus—this distinction should be attributed firstly to divisions in the natural landscape, such as the Troodos mountains and the Morphou Bay, and, secondly to neighbourhood relations between the various production centres. In the extra-urban sanctuaries, votives are not always of local production, in contrast to the urban sanctuaries, where the votives were in almost all cases produced locally.[170] The sanctuaries situated in the immediate environ of the city-kingdoms, such as Enkomi, Achna or Patriki for Salamis, Geroskipou-Monagri and Pegeia-Maa for Paphos, or Limnitis, Vouni and Mersinaki for Soloi, are almost exclusively characterised by votives of local production. However, as we move away from the core of the city-kingdom, the votive character of the sanctuaries becomes more variable in style.

The stylistic study of terracotta production and the degree of its variability within the context of the sanctuaries allow for a general examination of the city-kingdoms' areas of influence. The examination of a number of extra-urban sanctuaries, such as Agios Therapon-Silithkia, Limnatis, Anogyra and Fasouri, has shown a very homogeneous iconographic and stylistic repertoire which, according to Fourrier, suggests that those sanctuaries could be placed in the Kourion territory.[171] Lapethos' terracotta production is influenced mainly by the Kition style, but also by other neighbouring city-kingdoms. In contrast, the city-kingdom of Salamis, despite its

167 Karageorghis 1993, 2.
168 Hermary 1991, 146; cf. Fourrier 2007b, 111–112.
169 Fourrier 1999, 117–138; Fourrier 2007b.
170 Fourrier 1999, 135; 2007b, 123–124.
171 Fourrier 2006a; 2007b, 75–76.

great range of distribution and the diffusion of its style, does not seem to be influenced by other city-kingdoms' styles. The terracottas from the sanctuaries in the area of Achna seem to fall into the 'Salamis style'. According to Fourrier's interpretation, we should probably include Achna within the Salaminian territory.[172] Moreover, the sanctuary at Pyrga, situated between the city-kingdoms of Amathous, Kition and Idalion, seems to be particularly influenced by Idalion and in political terms has been seen as part of that city-kingdom's territory.[173] The terracotta figurines of Arsos, on the other hand, provide a different picture. Their stylistic study shows that during the Cypro-Archaic period a number of different city-kingdoms had a stylistic impact on their production, such as Salamis, Kition and Idalion. However, the 'Salamis style' accounts for the largest amount of material. Should the Arsos sanctuary therefore be regarded as a territorial sanctuary of Salamis? Fourrier, based on the location of the sanctuaries and the quantification of the productions falling within the Salamis and the Idalion style, makes a distinction between territorial and frontier sanctuaries: while she considers Achna as an area within the territory of Salamis, she concludes that Arsos is a frontier sanctuary for the same city-kingdom, lying in a 'frontier zone' between Salamis and Idalion.[174] We will come back to the 'frontier zones' in a while. The case of the area of Chytroi is even more complicated. While its terracotta figurines are mainly of 'Salamis style', Chytroi is represented in Esarhaddon's Prism[175] as an independent city-kingdom, probably later lost to Salamis. In Satraki's interpretation, since Ledra and Chytroi do not present any accurate epigraphic or numismatic evidence for royalty, should not be seen as independent states at any time of the Iron Age, but as secondary centres to the city-kingdom of Salamis instead; according to Satraki, their being referred to on the Esarhaddon's Prism as independent states with their own *Basileis*, remains enigmatic.[176] In my view the importance of the Esarhaddon's Prism as an accurate political document should not be devalued.

As will be further investigated below, changes in the number and consequently the territories of the city-kingdoms across time, and changes in modern—usually linear—ways of thinking, make the process of identify-

172 Fourrier 1999, 123–125; 2007b, 30.
173 Fourrier 2000, 58; 2007b, 48–49.
174 Fourrier 2007b, 34–36, 47–48, 114.
175 For the Esarhaddon's Prism and its importance see Iacovou 2002a, 81–82.
176 Satraki 2012, 383.

ing Cypriot Iron Age political boundaries even more problematic. A detailed study which attempts to bring together the evidence from natural resources and geography, environmental factors, the city-kingdom's coinage and royal inscriptions, and the production centres of major and minor arts,[177] can indeed help us identify regions but not the exact political peripheries of the city-kingdoms. Perhaps, at this stage, it would be more appropriate to explore ancient cognition, symbolic prominence and psychological power structures, instead of trying to find the precise boundaries of each city-kingdom. Speaking about 'frontier'[178] or 'liminal zones' instead of 'boundaries' might be a more helpful way of thinking. And I would even venture to leave open the possibility that such 'frontier zones', at a serious distance from the major centres of power, might have remained out of the direct control of a specific city-kingdom. The 'theoretical boundaries' of the city-kingdoms on Rupp's maps,[179] are based on completely hypothetical evidence and have been characterised as imposing "a contemporary framework of nation-states on the ancient landscape".[180] It is indeed problematic to use Rupp's boundaries when one wants to organise Iron Age sites or material territorially. Although, on the one hand, I fully perceive both the necessity and the natural consequence of a well organised socio-political and socio-economic territorial organisation for the era of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, on the other hand, I would leave open Given's suggestion that we should probably abandon the principle that any unit of territory should be defined by fixed linear boundaries such as the ones we are familiar with today, and accept that there may have been some areas of 'undetermined territory', particularly in the impenetrable Troodos mountains range;[181] in fact, in these areas very little evidence for sanctuary sites survives. Such 'undetermined territories', filled with minor hamlets or farmsteads, are likely to have been fluid over time (politically and/or economically), and perhaps even perceived differently by different groups. Nevertheless, when it comes to the metallipherous foothills of Troodos, as explained below, we should expect a highly supervised political control; in fact, the distribution of sanctuaries on the Cypriot landscape reveals that the number of such sites on the lower foothills is quite large. More recently, Counts, examining the cult figure of 'the Master of the Lion', has argued that sanctuaries located outside the

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177 Satraki 2012, 333–374.
178 'zone de frontière' and 'sanctuaires de frontière' in Fourrier 1999, 138; 2002, 140.
179 Rupp 1987, maps 4, 6.
180 Given 1991, 43.
181 Given 1991, 43.

urban centres related to the Mesaoria plain "should only be associated loosely with any one particular kingdom, although such an association can be assumed for each".[182]

Similarly, when it comes to other ancient states, we should probably rethink the idea of a neatly defined political land power.[183] The above arguments are in line with de Polignac's more recent work, proposing a model of a path between 'social mediation, competition and sovereignty'.[184] Such extra-urban sanctuaries could have been used as stepping stones for regular public contact with the people of the hinterland, who might have lived in the sphere of the city-kingdom's influence but may not have been, strictly speaking, politically dependent.[185] Although it seems very plausible that the presence of at least some extra-urban sanctuaries was related to territorial claims, one could think that those in such 'frontier zones' would not necessarily have been built primarily for that reason, and would not be dependent on specific communities of one city-kingdom or the other.

Fourrier's study of the Kouris Valley,[186] between the city-kingdoms of Kourion and Amathous, for example, reinforces the above suggestion about 'frontier zones'. At Kapileion, terracotta figurines, particularly of the rider type, are characteristic of Kourion production. On the other hand, while the Cypro-Archaic figurines of the nearby village of Agios Therapon are of both Kourion and Amathous styles, the majority of the ceramic material from the necropoleis of Alassa and Kandou (which are both closer to Kourion than to Amathous) comes from Amathous. As Fourrier rightly states, in those terms, the Kouris Valley seems to represent a zone rather than a defined line of 'frontier', and also a 'meeting place' for members and ideas from the two communities, if such a clear-cut and linear distinction ever existed. In analogy with projects undertaken elsewhere in the Mediterranean,[187] a GIS analysis of the city-kingdom sanctuaries' distribution might as well point to us not only their relationship with recognised as well as not yet recognised diachronic roads, communication- and trade-routes between different city-kingdoms or between city, second-rank towns and rural settlements, but

182 Counts 2008, 22–23.
183 Shipley 2000, 192.
184 de Polignac 1994.
185 cf. de Polignac 1994, 16–17.
186 Fourrier 2002, 140. For a survey project recently start in the Kouris Valley by an Italian mission see Bombardieri et al. 2009; http://dbas.sciant.unifi.it/index.php?c=kouris (accessed April 20, 2010).
187 e.g. Farinetti 2009, 256–257.

is also in keeping with Collombier's proposition that the Cypriot sanctuaries mark the principal routes and paths, ensuring the interconnectedness and networking of territory.[188] The work of Bekker-Nielsen, on the roads of ancient Cyprus can actually prove that a number of Iron Age sanctuaries can be securely placed on known routes,[189] usually also related with the network of copper industry and agricultural production.

As de Polignac states for the case of Archaic Greece though, a territory is not a homogeneous entity, nor a perfect circle where the relations between the centre and its circumference are everywhere identical.[190] In the same way, these extra-urban sanctuaries, some of them located in places of strategic importance and/or in productive cultivated zones, forming a frontier zone of urban space, "do not so much enclose it as give concrete form to the transition, the passage, to space outside".[191] Following de Polignac's model,[192] it needs to be examined how major centres of power, in the context of social competition, including military, economic and political activity, reorganise the whole range of local and regional relations around them; this definitely creates a hierarchy of sites and relations among their elites and, I would add, their non-elites. It is, therefore, impossible to separate the development of urban centres from the overall process of the organisation of territory. Border areas, meeting places and places of exchange, all of which are associated either with the control of access to particular resources and the signification of dependence bonds between major and minor sites, would be expected to be of great importance in the social organisation and operation of central settlements. This is particularly relevant to urban centres which would be interested in declaring their territorial rights on these kinds of areas. De Polignac adds that extra-urban sanctuaries, which direct the flow of circulation and the means of communication in the city and outside the city, should be accorded with symbolic significance forming an axis in the process of organisation and communication.[193]

In the previous paragraphs, I have argued that any attempt to assign most of the extra-urban sanctuaries located in 'frontier zones' to specific city-kingdoms using the stylistic characteristics of artistic production as

188 Collombier 1999, 123.
189 e.g. Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 151, 190, 201.
190 de Polignac 2005, 62–63.
191 de Polignac 2005, 51.
192 de Polignac 2005, 63.
193 cf. Chaniotis 2009.

evidence is very dangerous and problematic. The issue is exemplified, for instance, by the conflicting attribution of terracotta figurines from Arsos and Achna to specific 'regional styles': while Caubet, basing her argument on the votives from those sanctuaries, tends to place those sites directly within the Kition influence,[194] Fourrier places the same sanctuaries within the Salaminian limits.[195] Typologies, imposed by modern archaeologists, do not necessarily have ancient cultural significance.

It is widely accepted that regional variation is a common phenomenon in the production of pottery, terracotta figurines, sculpture and the construction of tombs, but its presence should not necessarily be associated with political or even clear-cut cultural boundaries. Artistic production seems to have been organised in highly localised workshops. This localisation in production is largely determined by geography and geology.[196] Further provenance studies,[197] intra-island this time, might indeed illuminate specific issues of workshops and dissemination. Nonetheless, we should associate the regional styles with material availability, technological considerations, and workshops' spheres of influence[198] rather than with political or national entities. The cultural unity of the city-kingdoms in Cyprus seems to rely on a multi-layered composition of regional variability created by inter-regional influences. In conclusion, the stylistic similarities between the material culture of the various Cypro-Archaic sanctuaries may be a useful indication of the distribution of artefacts and people and the degree of interaction between the city-kingdoms, but should not necessarily be employed as the means of defining and explaining the territorial relationship between city-kingdoms and sanctuaries. In other words, stylistic influence is not always synonymous with political domination.

Case Studies

Let us return to the Cypro-Classical sacred landscapes. A digraphic dedication of a temple of Artemis *Agrotera* in the city of Paphos by the last *Basileus* of the city-kingdom, Nikokles,[199] might further reveal the direct involvement

194 Caubet 1992, 264.
195 Fourrier 1999, 123–125; 2007b, 30–31, 35–36, 114.
196 Connelly 1991, 94–95.
197 Kourou et al. 2002; Karageorghis et al. 2009.
198 Counts 2004, 178. For a general survey of patterns of distribution and internal relations for the Cypro-Archaic Cyprus see Reyes 1994, 101–121, where he reviews sculptures (terracotta and limestone), ceramics and glyptic groups, identifying workshops, contacts and spheres of influences.
199 Masson 1961, 95–96.

of the *Basileis* in the management of cult. Two other votive inscriptions of the same *Basileus*, however, from the site of Agia Moni,[200] at the southwestern foothills of Troodos at the Ezousa Valley, are of great importance in the search of the city-kingdoms' political geography in relation to religion. The erection of such a royal inscription at such a remote distance from its political centre could definitely be associated with political and maybe territorial significance.[201] The great interest of Nikokles in renewing the columns of that particular precinct in the Paphian region could be explained in conjunction with Fourrier's theory about the role that the extra-urban sanctuaries played in the mapping of the city-kingdoms' territories. In Iacovou's interpretation the inscriptions of Agia Moni at the Ezousa Valley should better be related to the involvement of the Paphian royal family in controlling the copper routes, from the Troodos foothills to the coast of Nea Paphos.[202] The fact that the archaeological sites at the Ezousa Valley increase during the Cypro-Classical period, in opposition to the valleys of Xeros, Diarizos and Ha-Potami rivers, closer to Palaipaphos, should be regarded in relation with the silting of the aforementioned rivers and the transfer of the city-kingdom's capital from Palaipaphos to Nea Paphos in seek of a new port; it is therefore not accidental that the Ezousa river connects Agia Moni with Nea Paphos.[203]

Another example of ambiguous nature is found in the very centre of the modern city of Nicosia (ancient Ledra), far away from Paphos. The presence of an honorary marble base for the Paphian *Basileus* Nikokles at the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Ledra is enigmatic.[204] Nikokles of Paphos and Nikokreon of Salamis were among the very few *Basileis* (probably the only ones) who managed to survive for a while against the Ptolemaic annexation, but any links between this marble base and territorial claims can only be speculative. It has to be said, however, that in the early fourth century BC the *Basileis* of Salamis and Paphos are in alliance against the *Basileus* of Kition and also, mint coins bearing the symbols of the two city-kingdoms together.[205] In the same context, one should probably envisage the devotion of Nikokles at Ledra, an area most probably belonging to Salamis at that time.[206]

200 Masson 1961, 145–147; 1980a, 79–80; 1997, 18; Mitford 1961b, 105–107.
201 Satraki 2006.
202 Iacovou 2010, 18; 2012.
203 Iacovou 2010, 17–18; 2012, 62–63; cf. Satraki 2012, 341–342.
204 Masson 1961, 399; Mitford 1961b, 136–138; Voskos 1997, 82–83, 251–256, no. E 13.
205 Destrooper-Georghiades 2007b, 29–30.
206 Satraki 2012, 369–370.

According to Ulbrich's catalogue, discontinuity of cult is evident at about 41 sites and in many cases can be dated before the end of the Cypro-Classical period (Appendix 1: table 5). Another 12 sites provide a more clear chronological disruption during the late Cypro-Classical or the early Hellenistic period (Appendix 1: table 5). In most of the cases, we can only gain a relative chronology, for all the reasons that have been mentioned earlier in this chapter and when examining the history of research in Cypriot sanctuaries. At this point, I would like to argue that it is more likely that the abandonment of the majority of these sites should be attributed primarily to the political acts of the city-kingdom *Basileis* and secondly, to consequent Hellenistic social developments and memory trends resulting from the political unification of the island. The plain of Mesaoria, where liminal zones between Salamis, Kition, Idalion and Tamassos at least would have been located in the early Cypro-Classical period, could be used as our starting point. The amount of sculptures in royal types that have been found in the sanctuaries of Mesaoria, particularly at Golgoi, is suggestive for the 'frontier zones' that existed in the area.

Salamis and Kition, the two most powerful harbour city-kingdoms of east Cyprus, would have vied constantly for control of the agricultural production of the Mesaoria plain, and the metalliferous foothills and forests of the Troodos mountains range. The attempt of Iacovou to reconstruct the political map of the island in the age of the city-kingdoms has made it clear that their number, and consequently their territorial formation, would have fluctuated, but was always diminishing.[207] Donation, purchase or conquest deriving from political and economic competition seem to have been ways of remodelling boundaries.[208] It appears that Kition's remarkable ascendancy in the fifth century BC is directly related to the failure of the Ionian Revolt, and the unsuccessful attempt of Onesilos of Salamis to rally the Cypriot city-kingdoms against the Persian Empire. In Iacovou's interpretation, the failure of the revolt led to a completely new political environment,[209] which could possibly have had an impact on the organisation of the sacred landscapes. While the language and script of the Phoenicians are not recorded in association with state functions in Kition before the fifth century BC, after that period the evidence is stunningly plentiful by comparison

207 Iacovou 2002a; 2007c, 17.
208 Fourrier 2002, 139.
209 Iacovou 2006a, 50.

to other city-kingdoms.[210] The increasing monumentality of the Kition temples, as well as their prosperity, which is reflected in the wealth of offerings found in the *bothroi*, is dated to this period[211] and could be connected with such a political domination.

Epigraphic evidence confirms that Idalion and Tamassos, by the fifth and fourth centuries BC respectively, had already lost their autonomy to Kition.[212] There can be little doubt that Kition wanted possession of Idalion and Tamassos to control the full process of copper industry right from the mines to the ports.[213] Already during the city-kingdoms' era, a track or road from Kition to Tamassos was constructed to provide control over land tenure and facilitate the transfer of copper from the mines of Tamassos to the port of Kition.[214] While the last *Basileus* of Kition, Pumiyaton, is identified as *Basileus* of Kition, Idalion and Tamassos, his father and predecessor, Milkyaton, was *Basileus* of Kition and Idalion alone. The sanctuary of Athena-Anat—a city and war goddess as well as the patron deity of the Idalian royal dynasty and territory[215]—lying at the very urban centre of Idalion, was probably destroyed when the city-kingdom of Kition finally conquered and annexed Idalion in about 470 BC, if we accept the chronology suggested by the excavators.[216] It was never rebuilt. In that case, the destruction of the 'acropolis' sanctuary of Athena-Anat, and its final abandonment along with the lack of any interest in rebuilding it, could indeed be connected with the annexation of the Idalian city-kingdom. Numismatics, however, contradict the suggested chronology for annexation. According to numismatic evidence the reign of *Basileus* Azbaal, who is the first to bear the double title of '*Basileus* of Kition and Idalion' begins after the year 457 or 446 BC.[217] Consequently, the abolition of the city-kingdom of Idalion should be assigned to the second half of the fifth century BC.

If one adopts the high chronology for the conquest of Idalion by Kition, the votive limestone sculptures offered in the sanctuaries of Idalion—

210 Iacovou 2008b, 645.
211 Karageorghis 1976, 111–141; 2005, 107.
212 Iacovou 2002: 77–78; Yon 2004, 18–19.
213 Gaber 1995, 35–35; 2008, 56.
214 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 191–192.
215 Ulbrich 2005, 200; Bazemore 2009.
216 *SCE* 4(2): 479, note 5; Gjerstad 1979, 251. For controversy about the chronology see Marvin 1974, xxv–xxvi and Walker and Stager 1989, 463–466; Gaber 2008, 55.
217 Destrooper-Georgiades 1996, 108.

foremost that of Apollo/Reshef[218]—and in their surroundings during the second and third quarters of the fifth century BC constitute important evidence for the end of Idalion's independence and its submission to Kition.[219] Those sculptures, according to Hermary, were very likely to have been dedicated by the new rulers of Kition.[220] However, if we accept the lower chronology for the annexation of Idalion, we can assume that the dedication of those large-scale statues with probable royal connotations, attested primarily in the sanctuary of Apollo, coincides with the time of the life of the independent kingdom of Idalion.[221] What is not often acknowledged is that only one *Basileus* of Kition ever bore the title '*Basileus* of Kition, Idalion and Tamassos'. The epigraphic evidence categorically states that he did not bear this triple title to the end of his kingship. In fact, Pumiyaton is named '*Basileus* of Kition, Idalion and Tamassos' in a single non-royal inscription on a marble altar, securely dated to 341 BC. At least three inscriptions from Kition, which date from 332–320/19 BC, describe Pumiyaton as *Basileus* of only Kition and Idalion. This allows us to reach the conclusion that Tamassos was lost to the city-kingdom of Kition before the abolition of all the Cypriot city-kingdoms by Ptolemy *Soter*.[222] This information further enhances Iacovou's argument that Tamassos might have been the *chorion* lost to Salamis after the defeat of Euagoras and the triumph of Milkyaton, and thus, the place that Pnytagoras would have wanted back, because of his appeal to Alexander.[223]

Therefore, the discontinuity of those extra-urban sanctuaries that could be associated with territorial claims could have been connected with the political acts of the *Basileis* of Salamis and Kition and the change of political boundaries. The case of Idalion is particularly illustrative of this: 14 out of the 17 of the sanctuaries that Ulbrich positions in the Idalian territory seem to be abandoned before the onset of the Hellenistic period. What is more, 6 of them do not provide evidence of cult within the Cypro-Classical period,[224] something which might reinforce the relation of the executed Idalian dynasty with sanctuaries. This interpretation is further justified by the fact that 24 sanctuary sites were abandoned even earlier, during the

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218 Or of Adonis according to the American expedition: *BCH* 117(2): 742; Gaber and Morden 1992; Gaber 2008, 59–60. For further discussion Tatton-Borwn 2002, 245–246.
219 For the Idalion sculptures see Gaber-Saletan 1986; Gaber 1989.
220 Hermary 2005.
221 Satraki 2008.
222 Satraki 2006.
223 Iacovou 2002a, 79.
224 Satraki 2012, 352.

course of the Cypro-Archaic period, when inland polities, such as Chytroi and Ledra (if we accept their independent status) mentioned only once in Assyrian royal inscriptions, may have lost their status as city-kingdoms and consolidated into stronger territorial units (Appendix 1: table 5).[225] The GIS analysis of these sanctuaries' patterning in the future might tentatively attribute the abandonment of some of these to the absorption of Chytroi, Ledra, Idalion and Tamassos.

It is probably within this climate of political competition that, at the beginning of the fourth century BC, the demise of the so-called 'palace' at Vouni, situated 5 km west of Soloi, should be regarded.[226] The role of the Vouni 'palace' remains enigmatic due to the fact that it has not been identified as the administrative centre of a city-kingdom by contemporary scholarship.[227] It's proximity to the Soloi 'acropolis', however, should be considered. Numismatic evidence suggests that the city-kingdom of Marion predominated over Soloi.[228] Gjerstad connects the architectural definition and layout of Vouni with the political history of the period, implying that the predominance of Marian coins in the Vouni hoard ought to allude to political control by the pro-Persian Marion and changes to the 'palatial' architecture. Although it remains unsettled whether Marian numismatic presence should be regarded as political domination rather than monetary circulation, what is of interest to us is that the 'palace' with its sanctuaries ceased to operate at the very beginning of the Cypro-Classical period. Gjerstad has regarded this phenomenon as a result of an uprising of the natives of Soloi.[229] This argument has been criticised by Maier, who, in the absence of any hint of internal political upheaval in the territory of Soloi at that period, seeks political reasons for the destruction of the 'palace' related to the political expansion of Euagoras of Salamis.[230] Nonetheless, textual and possibly numismatic evidence suggest the existence of Soloi as an independent kingdom later in the fourth century BC.

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225 Iacovou 2002a, 81; cf. Fourrier 2007b, 114. For recent fourth century BC evidence, which indicates the probable presence of a prince (not a *Basileus* however) in Ledra see Pilides and Olivier 2008.

226 *SCE* 3: 111–290.

227 Petit 2001, 55.

228 For a full presentation of the argument, as well as for further bibliography see Collombier 1991, 31–32; Zournatzi 2005, 24–28; 2008, 240–241, note 9; Bazemore 2009, 28–29.

229 Gjerstad 1933, 595–596.

230 Maier 1985, 37. This was previously suggested by Karageorghis 1982, 164; Hellström (2009, 37) has recently discussed the various explanations for the destruction of the 'palace', also suggesting that the building might have been destroyed after an accidental fire.

Whichever is the case, what is important to our discussion is firstly, that the ‘palace’ was never rebuilt and, secondly, that the rivalries between the various city *Basileis* led to a continuous redefinition of political space. Next to these considerations we also have to consider the interpretation recently put forward by Bazemore: the city-kingdom of Soloi, just like the case of Idalion with Ambelleri and the Moutti tou Arvili ‘acropoleis’, might have also had double ‘acropoleis’, one in Vouni and the other in the Palaia Chora; the ‘palace’ served as a fortified home (or citadel) for the royal family with its private Athena cult; following the fourth century destruction of the palace, for reasons still undetermined to us, the administration moved to Soloi, on a low hill on the plain below.[231] As the Vouni ‘palace’ demonstrates, the goddess Athena remains central to the ideology of the royal family of Soloi, just like the goddess who is going to become Aphrodite remains central to the ideology of the Amathous royal family. The sanctuary site of Mersinaki, situated on the seashore between the two ‘acropoleis’ and further analysed in the following chapter, should be central to the politico-religious ideology of the Solian dynasty.

During the second half of the fifth century BC, as well as throughout the fourth century BC, important changes seem to take place on the political map of Cyprus. In spite of the problems in the dating of Cypriot sculpture, the dedications of monumental male statues of dignitaries and of the probable ‘royal types’ cease, not only at Idalion, at roughly the same time as epigraphic sources connected with its independent status, but also (although the surviving material is badly damaged) the same seems to apply to the sanctuary of Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion,[232] a city-kingdom that was probably no longer independent till the end of the Cypro-Classical period. The case of Kourion could also shed some light on the problem and reinforce our interpretation regarding the relationship between the setting of some extra-urban sanctuaries and territorial claims. The absence of any royal epigraphic testimonies from the city-kingdom *per se* and its drop out of the fourth century BC literary sources could be related to the fact that it lost its independent status as a city-kingdom at some point during that century; nonetheless we are far from knowing exactly when Kourion was abolished or by whom its territory was absorbed.[233]

231 Bazemore 2009, particularly 28–29; cf. Satraki 2012, 313.
232 Hermary 1996b, 140–145.
233 Iacovou 2002, 78.

Coinage of the fifth century BC Kourion has begun to be identified, but much more work needs to be done.[234] Destrooper-Georgiades accepts the identification of a Pasikrates, mentioned—without a royal title however—in a Greek inscription found at Nemea, as a fourth century BC *Basileus* of Kourion,[235] and attributes some coins to him.[236] In that case, and bearing in mind that no coin dated between 323 and 312 BC has yet been attributed to Kourion,[237] one should accept that the city-kingdom was abolished sometime after Alexander and before the Ptolemies; this interpretation, however, remains problematic.[238] As Iacovou argues, if numismatic research manages to identify the latest of the coins issued by Kourion's royal mint, it will provide valuable evidence regarding the time of its abolition.[239] The fact that its territory was most probably absorbed by another city-kingdom could further be amplified by the geographic patterning of its surrounding sanctuaries: even if one—as discussed in the beginning—should be sceptical about the sacred character and linear chronologies attributed to many sites, the majority of the sites in Ulbrich's catalogues which were known to have functioned as extra-urban sanctuaries in the vicinity of Kourion can hardly provide evidence of religious activity within the Cypro-Classical period.[240] This information could be considered in relation to the aforementioned literary and sculptural evidence. How exactly this could be related to the abolition of the city-kingdom cannot yet be inferred but, in my view, it might indicate the direct relationship of some of these sanctuaries with the territorial claims.

Résumé of the City-Kingdom Sacred Landscapes

To sum up my point on the city-kingdoms' sacred landscapes: up to this stage we have been concerned with the first two enquiries that were raised. The proposed discontinuity in cult activity from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, seemingly, is not groundless, but we should more appropriately connect it primarily with the political actions of the former, and secondly with the consequent social developments and memory resulting from the political unification of the island, as explained in the following section. Extra-urban sanctuaries, therefore, could be directly linked with the political power,

234 Kagan 1999.
235 For the emendation of the literary sources see Miller 1988, 154 and Destrooper Georgiades 2007b, 22–23, note 61.
236 Destrooper-Georgiades 2007b, 22–23, 27.
237 Destrooper-Georgiades 2007a, 270, note 25.
238 Perlman 2000, 271–272, n. 59.
239 Iacovou 2002, 78.
240 Ulbrich 2008, 368–369; 487.

sovereignty and domination of the *Basileis*, and consequently with the territorial formation of the Cypriot city-kingdoms. Our cases from the Mesaoria plain and the Kourion city have shown that further systematic study of sculpture in combination with political history, landscape studies and geographic distribution of the sanctuary sites using possible 'predictive modelling' and GIS techniques (such as viewshed and cost-distance analyses) could prove to be a very important area of research.[241]

Before we continue, it should clearly be stated that definitive evidence which informs us that a sanctuary was founded to stake territorial claims is absolutely missing from the island and any interpretation regarding this matter remains theoretical. The controversy which surrounds the political organisation of first millennium BC Cyprus is characterised by uncertainties, and any attempt to define the political boundaries in place during the foundation and subsequent use of these sanctuaries is difficult. The above discussion, however, has argued that Cypriot sanctuaries and their associated artefacts were a principal feature of the social (including physical, political, cultural and ideational) Cypriot landscapes.

De Polignac's theory about the role of sanctuaries in the formation of the political units is extremely important, but one should be very cautious when applying it to Cyprus, where, unlike Greece, there is no evidence describing the circumstances of the foundation of sanctuaries. A synthetic study of both ritual and mythical expressions could provide a deeper understanding of the society and religion. Not only political, but also religious and mythological factors should also be considered as criteria for the choice of establishment of sanctuaries. However, the evidence seems to be against the simplistic proposition of Wright: based on a comparative study of the Aegean and Semitic (mainly Syro-Phoenician) areas and with specific reference to trees and 'paradise gardens', he suggests that extra-urban sanctuary space—in opposition to the urban, "where it is not the site but the structure which generates holiness"[242]—"was enclosed because it was holy, it was not made holy by anything built there".[243] The placement of the foundation legends of the Cypriot city-kingdoms within recent trends of theory and interpretation of myth and comparative mythology, under an approach which exceeds mere descriptive narration, would probably provide new insights into the association of ritual and state.

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241 For a brief review of archaeological 'predictive modeling' and its relations to GIS techniques see Verhagen 2008, 14–17. A GIS analysis is one of my future plans.

242 Wright 1992a, 270.

243 Wright 1992a, 276.

Furthermore, the territorial significance of sanctuaries should be re-thought. As Malkin notes, even in the case of Greece, de Polignac himself seems to have modified his idea of the *a priori* territorial significance of the sanctuaries in favour of a model of social mediation (i.e. communication resulting in the exchange of goods and ideas) among various localities.[244] In the case of Cyprus, one should similarly be cautious and avoid assessments which may hide either 'intentionalist' or anachronistic 'matter-of-fact' or 'heavy-symbolism' approaches.[245] Malkin, by taking the example of Cyrenaica, explains how the extra-urban sanctuaries dedicated to Zeus-Ammon, viewed from synchronous perspectives and perceptions, might have effectively, and perhaps metaphorically, created a ring of sites demarcating Cyrenaica.[246] There is a distinction between association and causation in the factors that influence the location of a monument; while causation is purposeful, an association may be accidental, the unintended outcome of other factors.[247]

In the same way, and in enhancement of Fourrier's interpretation,[248] the possibility should be considered that, if Cypriot sanctuaries ever existed as 'frontiers', this could be the result of social developments and human feelings which follow their foundation. This argument is in line with her more recent interpretation: the city-kingdoms were not founded in the eight century BC; the eight century however, represents a political reorganisation of the city-kingdoms towards a more centralised system, consisting of a more clearly defined centre and a periphery consisting of other secondary centres; the extra-urban sanctuaries, some of them already in place during the Cypro-Geometric period, are called to play a new role within the politico-economic competition amongst the city-kingdoms.[249]

Emotional attachments, as well as affective and symbolic significances in relation to landscapes and how their conceptions as inscribed surfaces imply a link between mapping and image-making, have already been addressed. The most important question here, however, would be whether contemporary encounters with ancient landscapes can ever approach the actual experience of people in the past.[250] Amidst all this modern analysis,

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244 de Polignac 1994, 3–18; Malkin 1996, 78; cf. Pedley 2005, 55–56.
245 Malkin 1996.
246 Malkin 1996, 80–81.
247 Brück 2005, 51.
248 Fourrier 2002, 140–141.
249 Fourrie 2007b, 108–109.
250 Brück 2005, 54.

it is easy to forget the very fact that we are, on the one hand, dealing with altered and un-static landscapes and, on the other, with real people of different social contexts, relations, cultural values, feelings and thoughts than ours. Contrary to Tilley, who seems to employ phenomenology not simply as a theoretical framework for understanding how people engage with the world around them, but also as a methodology for evaluating the experiences and interpretations of people in the past, Brück stresses that it is highly problematic to represent the human body, with its mind and psyche, as universal; the physical, mental and psychological experience of an archaeologist does not provide an entry point into people's exact interpretation of the landscape in the past.[251] However, as discussed in the previous chapter, those who exercise social power are themselves subject to the demands of others and it is through the very means of agency that dominant ideologies and the network of social relations between people and monuments, elites and non-elites are created.

Human emotions in personal and individual terms are far more significant than the structures of political powers, which, like it or not, can unavoidably be more accurately reached in this analysis. The multiplicity of human experience, therefore, underlines the variable and polysemous nature of place, and calls for the production of 'multiple narratives'.[252] A combination of all those possible explanations that have been presented so far, and those that are presented below, would therefore be a good starting point to move from ancient landscapes to ancient 'mindscapes'; to places where "subjectivity and objectivity connect in a dialectic, producing a *place* for *Being* in which the topography and physiography of the land and thought remain distinct but play into each other as an 'intelligible landscape', a spatialization of Being …";[253] to places where somatic, perceptual, existential, architectural and cognitive spaces, are all relational and inter-constituted.[254]

2.4.2. *The Hellenistic Sacred Landscapes*

The plausible role of the Cypriot extra-urban sanctuaries in the constitution of many political entities and the organisation of their territories has so far been examined. How might the turn from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period—and consequently the transition from many political

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251 Brück 2005, 54–56.
252 Bender 1993.
253 Tilley 1994, 14.
254 Tilley 1994, 14–17.

topographies and identities to one—however, have affected the organisation of sacred landscapes, and indeed the very existence of those extra-urban sanctuaries? This section aims to discuss how issues of Hellenistic urbanisation, social memory and politico-religious agency and ideology might have affected the Cypriot sacred landscapes.

Apart from the proposed ruptures, the continuity of cult into the Hellenistic period of about 74 sanctuary sites is another fact which supports the connection of the abandonment of the Cypro-Classical sites with the political environment of the pre-Hellenistic city-kingdoms (Appendix 1: table 5). With the exceptions of the 'palatial' sanctuaries of Amathous, and the case of the Kition shrines and probably of Tamassos and Marion, the continuity of cult activity in the main sanctuaries located within the immediate environs of the urban centres has already been discussed. The majority of these sites, however, are extra-urban sanctuaries. How can this continuity be explained? The answer could be found, again, by associating the Hellenistic Cypriot sanctuaries with social power as discussed when 'setting the scene' of this monograph.

Hellenistic Urbanisation and Settlement Archaeology

The transformation of Hellenistic political topographies, as elsewhere,[255] brought a marked urban and extra-urban change. Any sort of agricultural, residential or socio-political restructuring should potentially have a major impact on the sacred landscapes. There is evidence for the creation of new cities during the Hellenistic period on Cyprus, such as the foundation of three Arsinoes, which are related to various politico-economic benefits.[256] The use of this toponym was crucial in Ptolemaic ideology, serving as a constant reminder of royal presence to the inhabitants. The role of the Arsinoe city foundations and the politico-religious use of the name of queen Arsinoe *Philadelphus* as a vehicle for the projection and perception of the Ptolemaic image, and in shaping the identity of Ptolemaic maritime power, has been overtly discussed by Marquaille.[257] Also, the growth or re-growth of previous 'urbanised' centres such as Golgoi,[258] Ledra, which was probably renamed Leukoton in the Hellenistic period,[259] and Nea Paphos with its

255 Alcock 1993b; 1994a; 1994b; 2002.
256 Hill 1940, 184; Watkin 1988, 203–206; Cohen 1995, 35–36, 65, 134–137; Marquaille 2001, 176–177.
257 Marquaille 2001, 168–234.
258 Hermary 2004.
259 Pilides 2007.

definite 'urbanised' system, as indicated by its capital status and architecturally expressed in the hippodamian town plan and other public buildings following the Hellenistic 'architectural *koine*',[260] should be considered. Through the years, however, other inland city-kingdom centres, such as Idalion, seem to have changed status from cities to small towns or even villages.[261] It should be expected that the shifting roles of the cities had an impact on sacred landscapes.

Additionally, official emphasis is now primarily towards urbanised and strongly 'hellenised' coastal centres for political, military and economic reasons. The coastal cities, such as Nea Paphos, Arsinoe, Kourion, Amathous, Soloi and Salamis, undoubtedly mirror Ptolemaic strategic interests in coastal port bases and settlements as well as influence on the sea and maritime power.[262] Although Cyprus was 'hellenised' enough and ready to adapt Hellenic forms of administration, it was indeed Ptolemaic rule that established city life and institutions in accordance with the rest of the Hellenic world.[263] According to epigraphic evidence, at least by the third century BC, the cities of Cyprus were enjoying democratic civic institutions, such as the *boule* and probably *demos*. The public buildings that formed the basis of the political and social structure included an agora with a *bouleuterion* or a *prytaneion*. Social amenities, such as temples, gymnasia, baths, theatres and other testaments to urban life (such as public inscriptions and statuary) parallel to those found in other Mediterranean Hellenistic centres,[264] existed not only in the capital of Nea Paphos, but also in the rest of the Cypriot cities—probably on a more modest scale, however—indicating a 'homogeneity' of the Hellenistic civic experience, enjoyed by all the people living within those urban communities.

The domination of city over *chora*, however, cannot securely be attested for Hellenistic Cyprus. The association of settlement patterns with demographic elements and the general growth of urbanisation in the Hellenistic period should definitely be acknowledged. At this point the term 'urbanisation' should better be defined beyond its architectural and institutional implications and significance, in relation to its importance to archaeological issues related to social change and state formation.[265] It should be admitted

260 Nicolaou 1966; Młynarczyk 1982; 1990, 241; 1996, 220–222.
261 Mehl 2000, 671.
262 Marquaille 2001, 139.
263 Mitford 1953a; Bagnall 1976, 57–58.
264 Vanderstar 1995, 87–88.
265 Osborne 2005.

that we are still far from understanding 'urbanisation', not only in Cyprus, but also in the broader Mediterranean,[266] especially when we want to capture its diachronic dimensions. As de Polignac argues, the way in which urban space has usually been pictured, at least in 'Greek archaeology', is strongly determined by the presence of a graphic sign of closure, usually circuit walls, and by a very marked separation between the 'outside' and the 'inside', to such an extent that this sharp separation appears to be a determining criterion of urbanisation. He therefore rightly stresses the question of how we can be sure whether our perception of a sharp distinction between inside and outside confidently reflects the earliest experience of space; it is argued that we should avoid models of urbanisation that insist on particular internal or organisational features of towns and understand that, since it is not necessarily a linear evolutionary process, is impossible to reach one, all-encompassing definition with predetermined criteria.[267] Urbanisation is one particular dynamic body of processes which operates on very different levels; it should thus remain integrated with the other social processes if it is to be correctly understood.[268] Furthermore, as Iacovou (studying the Early Iron Age urban forms of Cyprus) following Damgaard Andersen et al.,[269] emphasises, a 'pluralistic approach' needs to be applied to the study of the Mediterranean cultures in general, but also to the study of 'urbanisation', as it could take a variety of forms through different processes, determined by local conditions and traditions.[270] This is where the Cypriot Hellenistic urbanisation should be seen in tandem with the archaeological evidence and, above all, with the problematic nature of the previous city-kingdom urbanisation.

As seen in the previous section, it should be kept in mind how dubious the usage of the phrase 'urban space' can sometimes be in the case of the Iron Age Cyprus and how a settlement can be more or less 'urbanised'. This

266 For problems of definition see Horden and Purcell 2000, 92–96; Purcell 2005.

267 de Polignac 2005, 46–47.

268 de Polignac 2005, 66.

269 Damgaard Andersen et al. 1997.

270 Iacovou 2005a, 17. More recently, Iacovou (2007c, 5), studying the Late Bronze Age landscapes in relation to urbanisation, state formation and size estimates shows that "there is no consensus as to what exactly ought to be measured as part of an urban landscape (the spatial parameter) or which period in the course of a settlement's history this measurement ought to represent (the temporal parameter)". Settlement sizes are equally problematic for all the long spectrum of the Iron Age Cyprus; for comparative evidence with Sicily see Iacovou 2008b, 651.

could be the case for the Iron Age sites of Golgoi, Agia Irini or Karpasia-Agios Philon.[271] The economic and religious implications of these architectural and institutional transformations in the Cypriot cities, as well as the relations between urban centres and countryside settlements during the Hellenistic period should be explored thoroughly. Was urbanisation a matter of spreading fashion in Hellenistic Cyprus and can we talk about changing social preferences for urban settlement organisation? Demographic archaeology, in combination with survey, epigraphic (mainly tomb-stones inscriptions and tax receipts or census data) and textual evidence, uses a wide range of methods to study topics which are of interest to the present work, such as the estimation of population size at a defined point of time, as well as changes in the size and structure of the population aggregates, through the study of settlement patterns and cemetery data for the medium and long term differences in the population trends and explanations of population change.[272]

Although one might expect that a war, such as the Ptolemaic annexation of Cyprus would cause population displacements or the extensive migration of people, only one event of this nature is clearly recorded in the Cypriot data. Diodorus (19.79.4) refers to the depopulation of Marion as the probable result of 'gunboat diplomacy' or the symbolic display of power. Nonetheless, no other textual evidence exists to clearly support great demographic changes in Cyprus during this period. The eastern district of Palaipaphos (Evreti, Asprogi and Mantissa sites) was abandoned around 300 BC and many of its inhabitants were probably transferred to Nea Paphos. This abandonment coincides with the collapse of the fortifications and with a shifting of the burial grounds to the southern and western confines of the city. According to Maier and Karageorghis the archaeological survey in the region, demonstrates very clearly what the transfer of the economic and administrative centre of the city-kingdom to Nea Paphos meant for Palaipaphos:[273] part of the population would have moved to the new harbour centre; therefore, the population that chose to remain in the old city, had to re-orientate their life and adapt to its new role, that of a sanctuary town.

However, all these arguments remain hypotheses. It should be stressed that the Hellenistic-Roman urban area is almost entirely covered by the modern village of Kouklia. In addition, it should be mentioned that there

271 Collombier 2003, 144.
272 Sbonias 1999, 1–2.
273 Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 238.

is no evidence for violent depopulation, and if any kind of depopulation existed, it should better be associated with the founder of Nea Paphos, the *Basileus* Nikokles, or with a voluntary movement of people, rather than with the Hellenistic successors.[274] As discussed below, further movement of people in the Hellenistic Cypriot landscape could be connected with the notion of increased urbanisation or the arrival of new—mainly military—settlers, attested primarily by honorific dedications, honorific inscriptions and epigrams, as well as epitaphs.[275] However, other factors, such as heavy taxation, could affect settlement preferences.

The evidence for Ptolemaic taxation in Cyprus is very limited. The *apomoira* inscription from Marion-Arsinoe and the *dekate* at Kafizin (see below) is the only evidence we have. A detailed study of coinage could be helpful on a certain level, but there is nothing to help us argue for a heavy level of taxation. In Polybius (18.55), the *Strategos* Polykrates withholds the revenues of Cyprus for a time and then sends them to Alexandria for the *anakleteria* (proclamation) of Ptolemy V. There is also a similar episode later on in Polybius (27.13), where Ptolemy *Makron* took charge of the island applying himself diligently to the collection of revenue. The cited episodes are likely extraordinary incidents but they show a certain degree of decentralisation of taxation as regards to the imperial centre. Nonetheless, we hear nothing about levels of taxation. An enigmatic first century BC inscription refers to the *antistrategos* (deputy governor) of the island and *epi ton metallon* (commissioner for mines) (see Appendix 2: table 1), but besides knowing the existence of this official, any conclusions on the implications of this are ultimately tied to hypothesis.[276] What might be revealing, based on Mehl's analysis,[277] is that the requirements to fund military and naval forces would have been an expensive endeavour requiring heavy taxation. This could, likely, have been extracted in kind which would then have some effect on settlement patterns. Nonetheless, as far as I can ascertain, the existing evidence cannot help us draw any further conclusions regarding the levels of taxation and its effect on settlement patterns.[278]

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274 *ARDAC* 1984, 42; Maier and Wartburg 1985a, 121; Sørensen 1993, 192–193; Maier 2007; Iacovou 2010, 18.

275 For a collection of such evidence see Nicolaou 1986, 431–433; Młynarczyk 1990, 153–156; Hirschfeld 1996, e.g. 200, 346.

276 Mitford 1961a, 39–40, no. 107.

277 Mehl 2000.

278 I thank P. Keen for our discussion on the matter of taxation.

Survey projects need to address those issues more emphatically. Survey archaeology, as explained above, can be a valuable tool when one addresses questions regarding the relationship between urban and extra-urban space. It enables us to look at developments through time over an extended area and it informs us about demographic trends, settlement preferences and economic decision making, across the full spectrum of a society: elites and non-elites, locals and foreigners; in this way, issues of continuities and ruptures can be re-examined.[279] Nonetheless, as Cherry argues, survey projects need to emphasise larger research questions and comparative issues, such as those that this project is currently investigating, and which can only be addressed by research at regional or macro-regional scales of social interaction.[280] Issues addressing the causes and consequences of change over time should include production for long-distance trade, urban-rural relations, state formation, imperialism, interregional migration, and related topics helping us to understand the interaction of local populations with 'metropolitan cultures'.[281]

A full analysis of these complex issues would go far beyond the scope of this project. At this stage, however, we will only touch upon the subject and make some observations. The term 'urbanisation' will be used to refer to a possible and more intensive movement of people to major city-centres rather than to the countryside. In other words, looking briefly at the reports of the various survey projects, we will try to explore if there is a change towards a more 'empty' extra-urban settlement landscape during the Hellenistic period.

A first glance at the survey fieldwork reports, both of the Cyprus Survey Inventory and the various other published surveys, at areas such as the Vasilikos[282] and Gialias valleys,[283] Paphos[284] and Phlamoudi,[285] reveals a 'full' Hellenistic extra-urban settlement landscape. Moreover, in the cases of Paphos, Vasilikos and Gialias valleys the survey projects have clearly shown that the number of settlements in the Hellenistic period was considerably

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279 Alcock 1994a, 175.

280 Cherry 2004, 30.

281 Blanton 2001, 629.

282 Todd 2004, 182.

283 Catling 1982, 233.

284 Rupp 1981, 258; Rupp et al. 1984, 148–153; Sørensen 1993, 189,193; Lund and Sørensen 1996, 145, fig. 4.

285 Symeonoglou 1972. An example of how problematic the early survey system is in Cyprus is exemplified in the debate between Catling and Symeonoglou, on the character and chronology of some sites from Phlamoudi: Symeonoglou 1975; Catling 1973; 1976.

higher than that in the Cypro-Classical period. In addition, at Paphos all but four sites revealed finds dated to the Cypro-Classical period and continuing in use in the Hellenistic period.[286] Sørensen suggested that the growth of settlements in the Palaipaphos region and the need for a demographic increase could be supported by the survey results and more specifically by the ceramic data. The rural areas may actually have increased in order to economically support the newly founded capital and it is therefore possible that a part of the population from Kouklia-Palaipaphos had moved to the countryside and not to Nea Paphos.[287] Although the latter is only an assumption, the growth of settlement activity in the area should be kept in mind. On the other hand, the coastal area of Akamas[288] underwent its very first extensive land use during the Hellenistic period. Hundreds of Hellenistic tombs and large quantities of Hellenistic pottery have been recorded, justifying the argument that a number of settlements or farmsteads were active in the area. It also seems possible that a road connection was established to connect the area with Nea Paphos and Arsinoe. Such growth and prosperity, however, is not apparent everywhere.

The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project, an intensive archaeological survey in the metalliferous north central foothills of the Troodos mountains, illustrates a different picture.[289] Based on ceramic evidence, the surveyors suggest that many Cypro-Classical sites were abandoned during the Hellenistic period. It seems that a substantial drop-off in the area characterises this period. One possible explanation given by the surveyors is that small farmsteads were phased out in favour of larger ones that would have been more able to meet the outside demand for various products. Additionally, this could be related to Hellenistic sub-trends towards larger agricultural units in tandem with technological changes in production. These arguments find support if we consider the importance of Cyprus during the Hellenistic period, in the trade of wine and grain across the Mediterranean.[290] Finally, settlement preferences could be also linked to individual decision-making and the costs and benefits of living in different locations, as well as agricultural strategies and how these are constrained by socio-economic relations.[291]

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286 Lund and Sørensen 1996, 145. For the Cypro-Classical patterns of settlement in the Paphos area cf. Młynarczyk 1992.
287 Sørensen 1993, 193.
288 Bekker-Nielsen et al., 22.
289 Moore 2003, 277; Knapp and Given 1996, 334; 2004, 83.
290 Michaelides 1996, 146–147.
291 Alcock, Cherry and Davis 1994, 168.

It can, therefore, be concluded that the settlement patterns of the transition are not entirely consistent. Moreover, considering the fact that the various survey projects can be very heterogeneous in duration, manpower, regional scope, field methods, data collection procedures and research goals, 'second-generation' analysis,[292] which combines and compares the evidence from all the surveys within the island, or other areas in the Mediterranean, seems very difficult to achieve.[293] From survey and epigraphic evidence, therefore, it seems that no simple and direct correlation exists between habitation in the countryside and levels of religious activity or even between the major urban sites and their countryside. As more survey data from Cyprus become available, we will be able to see further into regional changes and detect more clearly the settlement patterns. A particularly crucial issue to be addressed more closely by survey projects and epigraphic studies is the intermixing of settlers and Cypriots in the countryside.

Comparative evidence of intensive surface survey elsewhere in the Mediterranean could help us comprehend better the Cypriot settlement patterns. The survey at the ancient city of Thespiae and its *chora* on the Greek mainland, for instance, has shown a certain degree of continuity in rural settlement from Classical to early Hellenistic times, while more evident signs for dramatic changes and abandonment occur during the transitional phase termed as 'late Hellenistic to early Roman' (covering the last two centuries BC and the first century AD), possibly as a result of the impact of Rome.[294] It has to be considered, however, that the Roman intervention in mainland Greece happens much earlier than in Cyprus. Another interesting comparison with the *chora* of Thespiae, regarding the impact of agricultural strategies and human activity patterns in a micro-region, is that of off-site ceramic material (interpreted as 'manure' deposited by farmers along with other domestic waste in order to maximise soil fertility): while it appears in large numbers during times of increased urban population (in the Classical and early Hellenistic era), it appears only in meagre proportions in times of population decline (in the late Hellenistic and early Roman

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[292] Diacopoulos 2004.

[293] This problem is clearly stated by Alcock and Cherry (2004). However, generally speaking, the benefits of comparative analysis emerge as largely important: Alcock and Cherry 2004, 1–9. The necessity for overcoming the present lack of agreement of approaches and methods that makes meaningful comparisons between regional data difficult or impossible has also been stressed by Barker and Mattingly (1999, iii).

[294] Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007, 132–151, 173–174.

period).[295] Davies has recently put forward the importance of new analyses on how economies worked at the levels of urban and extra-urban space in the Hellenistic world.[296] Shipley, therefore, has eloquently shown for the case of mainland Greece, how survey can illuminated changes in the use of Hellenistic landscapes, detecting variability and regional variations in settlement patterns.[297]

An insight into the funerary landscapes might further illuminate the Cypriot case, both regarding settlement and demographic patterns, but also regarding the use—or misuse—of memory within the new power relations and structures. Additionally, the study of funerary landscapes and burial customs can further illustrate whether we can make a clear separation between locals and foreigners, or even between space occupied by locals and space occupied by newcomers. I agree that in the case of the 'Tombs of the Kings' at Nea Paphos, let us say, we could almost confidently suggest that the vast majority of burials belong to foreign officials who died and were buried on the island.[298] Nonetheless, if we move from this particular case, it is indeed very problematic to set secure criteria separating the adoption of aspects of burial customs by natives from burials of foreigners according to their native customs.[299]

The work of Parks, who analysed burial and settlement patterns in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, describing cemetery locations by district, should be regarded as instructive in the study of funerary landscapes.[300] The evidence from the funerary landscape further enhances our argument for a 'full' Hellenistic settlement landscape. As Parks argues—referring mainly to Roman Cyprus, but also including the Hellenistic period in her discussion—cemeteries indicate a more extensive settlement system than has previously been believed for the inland regions of the island.[301] While some tombs or cemeteries had been in use for generations without interruption, others were completely new foundations. According to Parks, the extensive reuse of tombs and cemeteries at Amathous presents a different case from other

295 Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007, 178.

296 Davies 2001; 2006. For the most recent work on methodological issues on ancient 'Graeco-Roman' economy see Scheidel, Morris and Saller 2007.

297 Shipley 2002.

298 Guimier-Sorbets and Michaelides 2009, 231.

299 Parks 2009.

300 Parks 1999, 32–119.

301 Parks 1999, 119.

major cities and should be regarded as opportunistic.[302] Most of the available plots close to the city had been already occupied quite early in the Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods. Therefore, rather than constructing new tombs at a greater distance from the city, the Hellenistic inhabitants preferred to reuse these long-used cemeteries. This phenomenon of cemetery continuity from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period is also well documented in other cities, such as Tsambres and Aphendrika at Karpasia,[303] Idalion[304] and Agioi Omologites at Nicosia,[305] to mention just a few well documented burial groups. In contrast, at Palaipaphos, a shift of the cemeteries from east to west/southwest is noted in the Hellenistic period.[306] Parks concludes[307] that at Nea Paphos (founded only during the late Cypro-Classical period) where there were few earlier tombs, the locals buried their dead in extensive new cemeteries of the late fourth century BC. In the case of Salamis, the necropolis followed the shift of the city towards the harbour. At Kition, unlike Amathous, it appears that the Hellenistic occupants chose to build new tombs in the existing cemeteries rather than to reuse the old ones. Although some purely Hellenistic cemeteries and tombs have been excavated in the entirety of Cyprus, the great majority of the published excavated tombs or cemeteries have shown a long continuity into the Roman period. This is the case for the area of Nea Paphos—and especially for the elaborate elite 'Tombs of the Kings'[308]—and for Agios Georgios tis Pegeias,[309] Kourion[310] and Agia Napa.[311]

Based on the problematic chronology of Cypriot pottery, it is sometimes hard to define whether the use of a tomb starts in the early or late Hellenistic, or in the late Hellenistic or early Roman. A more rigorous analysis focused on the funerary landscapes of the transition needs to be made.

302 Parks 1999, 117.
303 Taylor and Dray 1937–1939.
304 Karageorghis 1964.
305 Flourentzos 1986; Hadjicosti 1993.
306 Maier 1968, 93; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 238.
307 Parks 1999, 117–119.
308 Hadjisavvas 1985a; 1985b. The 'Tombs of the Kings' at Nea Paphos have been seen as the most illustrative example of the practice of imitating Alexandrian elite tomb art and architecture. For a recent review of the existing evidence see Guimier-Sorbets and Michaelides 2009; Nenna 2009, 184; Parks 2009, 236–237.
309 Anastasiadou 2000.
310 Parks 1996; 1997; Parks and Chapman 1999; Parks, Mavromatis and Harper 2000.
311 Hadjisavvas 1984, 316; 1997, 43–159; some tombs supply evidence from the Late Cypro-Classical period.

However, although generalisations should be avoided, a study of the published reports indicates that a major shift in cemeteries happens during the second half of the third and during the second centuries BC, and these tombs usually continue in use into the Roman period. As further examined below, when focusing on sacred landscapes, it follows that the aforementioned continuities or shifts should be attributed to various reasons associated with social power and, particularly, with familial memory. Nonetheless, practical reasons, such as the lack of space or continuous occupation of the site, should also be considered when studying the selection of funerary preferences.

A more rigorous topographical, as well as osteological analysis, needs to be made. Particularly, the detailed analysis given by Raptou about the case of Paphos brings to attention new evidence which highlights the complexity of the issue: at Ktema-Nea Paphos, there is a number of late Cypro-Classical or early Hellenistic tombs that continue without disruption into the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. On the other hand, at the same cemetery, there are completely new Hellenistic tombs, which architecturally follow a completely different tradition. At Tremithous, where a small settlement lies, although not in distance, the Hellenistic and Roman burials are separated from the Cypro-Classical ones. There are even cases, like Kouklia-Skales, where while Cypro-Geometric tombs go out of use during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical, they are reused in the Hellenistic period. There are also cases at the same cemetery where continuity from the Cypro-Geometric to the Hellenistic period is noted. Finally, at Phones, a completely new cemetery is created from the Hellenistic until the Roman period, with completely new burial customs and practices. All these reveal how complicated and unclear the situation is at this stage. What is clear, however, at least for the case of the whole area of Paphos, is that, from the Hellenistic period onwards, a great increase of burials is noted. In a recent article, Raptou presents some tomb-groups recently excavated in the city and region of Paphos, with the scope of defining the topography of Paphos and its surroundings at the time of the transition.[312]

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312 Raptou 2007a. I wish to thank D. Michaelides and E. Raptou for sharing their knowledge from personal fieldwork, as officers in the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, and for discussion on the funerary landscapes.

Back to the Sacred Space: Social Memories and the Construction of Hellenistic Identities

Let us now turn back to the sacred landscapes, the focus of this chapter. Studying the sacred landscapes, the importance of memory cannot be overstated.[313] Textual evidence from the Mediterranean and also ethnographic analogy suggest that elites are usually actively engaged in the construction of social memory, typically considered as a dynamic expression of collective experience. On the other hand, as Van Dyke and Alcock argue, people usually "remember or forget the past according to the needs of the present, and social memory is an active and ongoing process".[314] The manipulation of ritual and ritual performances, oral tradition, writing and strong material correlations are all means of 'how societies remember' or 'forget'.[315] As has already been discussed, monuments and landscapes are reinterpreted by each generation and this has an impact on social memory. Phenomenological approaches could allow us to think about the ways in which landscapes were experienced, perceived, and represented by ancient subjects. "As humans create, modify, and move through a spatial milieu, the mediation between spatial experience and perception reflexively creates, legitimates, and reinforces social relationships and ideas".[316]

Ptolemaic annexation of the island brought significant changes in its wake and a redefinition of relationships among the island's dominant elite families. Adopting a Braudelian concept of time as a habitual process of change, we can see how through time Ptolemaic annexation would have encouraged the acceptance of a new social order, based on redistribution of land, new loyalties and new economic priorities. However, is this change visible and 'readable' in the archaeological record of sacred landscapes? Following Alcock's methodology, it is important to see sacred landscapes not simply as constructs but as a complex and dynamic reaction to Ptolemaic incorporation; one has to investigate what was remembered, where, when and how. When studying the Cypriot 'portraits' in relation to the ruler cult,

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313 Alcock 1997; 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a; 2003b; Yoffee 2007; Meskell 2007. For a critique of Alcock 2002 see Osborne 2003 where he discusses how 'collective memory' might refer to shared 'knowledge' of events that were not experienced by the collectivity in question; then we are using 'memory' in an extended sense. He concludes that we should better refer to 'invented traditions' rather than substitute them with 'collective memories'. However, I personally find Alcock's use of the concept of 'memory', with its active inclusion of non-elites, a useful and very helpful way of thinking about the past.

314 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003b, 3.

315 Alcock 2002, 18–19.

316 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003b, 5.

we will come back to these issues, examining how royal statues are dedicated primarily to major, 'high-status' sanctuaries related to a unitary political and social identity. Through the medium of Cypriot votive 'portraits', however, we will also discuss in more detail mechanisms in which local and non-local elites, in an ancient 'colonial' context, usually establish networks and claim authority.

The continuity or discontinuity of the extra-urban cult activity should therefore be attributed to multi-polar power relations and memory trends. The previous discussion has raised the issue of the nature of cult patronage. Political uses of 'the past in the past' should be acknowledged.[317] Local and non-local elites, in their effort to define or redefine their relationships with the land for political and economical reasons, or in order to naturalise or legitimate authority, could have used sanctuaries as a place to demonstrate their status. If the sanctuaries existed as 'frontiers' in any stage of the pre-Hellenistic period, now, under a new unified political organisation, many of them (eventually) were not directly necessary. Especially, in Hellenistic II period, when the Cypriot epigraphic evidence supports the crystallisation of a unified political administration under the overall control of a *Strategos-Archiereus*, many of the extra-urban sanctuaries, which survived the Cypro-Hellenistic I period are now 'dead'. This statement, supports the idea put forward in chapter 1: in Hellenistic I, we should expect continuation of many administrative and ideological mechanisms related to the previous city-kingdom period. As time went by, the city-kingdoms' era elites would have disappeared. As the epigraphic evidence reveals (Appendix 2: table 1), new social divisions and affiliations within Cypriot society as a whole, but also within individual communities, were promoted through the very agency of cult. However, the need for political elites to define the link between territory and city should have become less and less important.

Of course, it should be kept in mind that sanctuaries, everywhere and in all periods, go in and out of use for numerous reasons, not all of which can be connected with major political or institutional changes.[318] Put differently, the formation of the Cypriot sacred landscapes cannot be reduced to a passive reflection of political and economic events. Minor extra-urban sanctuaries would have been dependent on local people, or individual proprietors, or perhaps on small extra-urban communities. This is illustrated in a contemporary, but indeed very representative analogy in modern Cyprus,

317 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a, Preface; 2003b, 1–9; cf. Georgiadis and Gallou 2009.
318 Alcock 1993b, 200.

made by Iacovou:[319] think of a granny who keeps lighting a candle or takes care of a Holy Mother's icon, in a minor church, which having been abandoned, is starting to lose its roof, its doors etc., until its abandonment is finalised by the death of that granny. This statement is further enhanced by analogies from other Mediterranean regional studies on social change. For instance, following the work of Terrenato who addresses issues of settlement patterns, productive behaviours and vernacular architecture for the case of Italy,[320] it can be inferred that the response of the local non-elite population to periods of transition might vary from those of local elites: "[w]hile tastes and fashions among the elites quickly came and went, development in these conservative groups only happened slowly and within a limited range, allowing cultural continuity and self-consistency to be maintained".[321]

In other words, the continuity or abandonment of sanctuaries in inland agricultural areas could also be related to the actions of non-elite groups, who might or might not have felt compelled to adjust their religious habits in the face of political change. It is possible that life went on in some places for many years, with little or no thought of the new structures of authority. We will come back to this issue when investigating the Cypriot 'portraits'. Should the 'renaissance' of some Cypriot extra-urban sanctuaries during the Hellenistic period,[322] or a 'second floruit' of the local cults at the beginning of the Hellenistic period,[323] be regarded as evidence of resistance? Next to the local and non-local elites' activities and their demand for territorial and societal status, this could also perfectly explain the continuity of so many sanctuaries during the Hellenistic period. A 'bottom-up' direction of change and reception by local non-elites is more difficult to grasp in the archaeological and historical record, especially in the case of ancient Cyprus, but this does not mean that it should not be considered.

Ritual supports a sense of community identity, and at the same time landscape, provides the focus by which people engage with the world, identify with their surroundings, and create their social identity.[324] Religion, therefore, represents a close linkage between local cult and local identity.

319 Iacovou 1993b, 18.
320 Terrenato 2005.
321 Terrenato 2005, 68.
322 Collombier 1993, 144.
323 Bennett 1989, 723–733; Mehl 2000, 748.
324 Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 15–16.

Although we cannot simply speak of many cultural identities in Iron Age Cyprus, the shifting from many political city-identities to one definitely had its implications, one of which could have been the interruption of promoting particular local cults. In addition, just as people move in the landscapes, creating, modifying, destroying or abandoning places, in the same way their identity is defined, re-defined or restricted; "articulating the social, spatial and cultural aspects of the landscape, individually or collectively, help us to understand how place is formed, negotiated, maintained and reconfigured".[325] Such an embodiment could enable us to define how people transformed their landscapes, and at the same time how landscapes themselves were transformed, adapting to the new socio-economic relations, as well as to the new political and memory realities.

On the other hand, it should be stressed that not everyone shares identical understandings of space. Perceptions and beliefs, or cognition of elites and non-elites, locals and foreigners, as well as individual agency, should be considered. Manipulation of landscapes, whether intentional or unintentional, leaves evidence that illuminates how humans conceptualise their surroundings and their worlds.[326] Although in archaeological contexts it is easier to see the use of memory (the acts of both remembering and forgetting), or even 'amnesia' (the process of selectively create the correct past), in relation to elite groups, memory is also employed in the service of resistance for 'common people'[327] or simply functions as the motive power for continuity of life. While sometimes only in partial or in a shadowy form, archaeologists have the potential to recover and consider those past memories.[328]

The last statement brings us to excavated sites that provide supporting evidence for a remote and modest Hellenistic revival of cult at some Bronze or/and Iron Age abandoned sanctuary sites. First, I refer to Agia Irini, where a Hellenistic reuse of the site after the Cypro-Archaic II period is attested by sporadic offerings, including stone sculptures, and a badly preserved, rectangular—most probably unroofed—room with a lime floor built between the earlier temenos wall and the 'tree-enclosure'.[329] Nonetheless, a small nearby settlement of Hellenistic date has been noted.[330]

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325 Knapp and Given 2004, 78.
326 Crumley 1999, 271.
327 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003b, 3–5.
328 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003a; 2003b.
329 *SCE* 2: 674, 820; Al-Radi 1983, 68; Winbladh 2003, 153.
330 *SCE* 2: 643; Beer 2009, 37.

Moreover, during the third century BC, after a period of abandonment, building activity, most probably an open-air installation, reappears at Phlamoudi-Vounari.[331] The cultic reuse of the site is further supported by the presence of limestone sculpture and Hellenistic pottery, mainly fragments of pithoi and large vessels of local production. Furthermore, at Myrtou-Pigadhes—although the excavators conclude that the site "survived in the memory of the inhabitants until Hellenistic times"[332]—it seems that the main revival, if not just revisiting, of the site was indeed during the Hellenistic times when some Hellenistic pottery and a Ptolemaic coin were found.[333] However, I would still be cautious when ascribing a late cultic activity to this site on the basis of the existing evidence. Finally, at Agios Iakovos-Dhima, we might note a revival of cult during the late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic period as limestone head might reveal.[334] As already discussed, such minor 'timescapes' cannot be recorded by survey or excavation projects if they are not associated with adequate diagnostic material or architectural indicators. Therefore, the situation cannot further be investigated. Beyond these specific excavated examples Hellenistic revival of cultic activity at other abandoned sanctuary sites cannot be attested. It is important, however, that such cases have been archaeologically recorded. The phenomenon could directly be associated with memory in the employment of resistance, especially on behalf of the Cypriot non-elites. By dedicating objects in monuments known to be from a past age, dedicants tie themselves into the powers of ancestors, usually claiming continuity and belonging.[335]

Additionally, changes that occurred on different levels in Hellenistic society influenced the religious sphere, cult practice and consequently the sacred landscapes. Although religion has usually been regarded as a very traditional element within a society, we have seen how religion should not be seen as a passive social infrastructure (ch. 1.6): religion can also reshape itself according to various political, social and economic developments. A point which demands special attention is that continuity of place does not necessarily mean continuity of cult, and at the same time, continuity of cult does not always imply continuity of meaning. As the case study of Amathous

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331 Al-Radi 1983, 21–22; Horowitz 2008, 83–84; Killian 2008, 90.
332 Taylor 1957, 25.
333 Al-Radi 1983, 82.
334 *SCE* 1: 370; Al-Radi 1983, 69–90; Ulbrich 2008, 437–438.
335 Osborne 2004, 7.

cult will reveal, to automatically assume straightforward cultic continuity is to ignore the alteration of circumstances over time, and also the possibility of new layers of meaning, without necessarily completely erasing their original message, but transforming it. Consideration of the rearrangement of the sanctuaries and their cults during the Hellenistic period would lead us to move from the landscapes of the transition to the landscapes of the transformations.

As de Polignac argues, the overall continuity of a sanctuary—as is reflected in the material culture—should not necessarily be linked with continuity in cult. If we want to assess the issue of cult history and its social significance, we need to see beyond continuity and search for the changes which transformed cult through time.[336] Furthermore, although symbolic means can express disapproval or resistance, survival of meaning or local cults does not necessarily equate with resistance.[337] As the epigraphic evidence and our case studies will however reveal, a more unifying reorganisation of cult can be noted during the Hellenistic II period.

The context where we can note catastrophe of sanctuaries (i.e. Kition, Golgoi, Tamassos and Marion) has been discussed. As far as I can ascertain from the excavation reports, despite some alterations and a reorganisation of space in specific sanctuaries, such as Athienou-Malloura,[338] Amathous[339] and Kourion[340] which can be noted during the Hellenistic period, the reorganisation of space (usually after the second half of the third century BC) does not seem to imply an abrupt ritual or cultic change. Of course, as we reach the end of the Hellenistic and the beginning of the Roman period, it is obvious that through various temporalities, a re-composition of the 'Cypriot pantheon' and cult took place. Transformations in votive cult practice, for instance, naturally happen throughout the periods. In Hellenistic society, with its new political, economic and intellectual developments, however, one would expect this change also to be expressed in votive

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336 de Polignac 1994, 9.

337 Alcock 1993b, 213–214.

338 Toumazou et al. 1998, 378; Toumazou, Yerkes and Kardulias 1998. It has to be noted, however, that in this sanctuary, a Hellenistic to Roman construction phase (including an early Hellenistic packing) originated on a hard-packed layer of earth above the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical levels. Nonetheless, the sanctuary's strata were heavily destroyed and looted before the scientific exploration of the site. Additionally, excavations have not yet revealed the complete plans of the sanctuary or its precise construction sequence.

339 Hermary and Schmid 1996, 120–122; Hermary et al. 2006a.

340 Soren 1986, 399; Buitron-Oliver 1996, 12–13; Deitrich 1996.

practice. Although we will engage with such issues later in the following chapters of this work, a more specialised analysis of votive practice in Cyprus from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period could address in more detail problems related to religious change, such as the significance of stylistic change and changes in number of the figurines and sculptures, in the nature of votive offerings, in raw materials, in the positioning of the votives, in the 'Cypriot pantheon' etc.[341] Based on archaeological, epigraphic and iconographic evidence, sometimes, thinking in terms of transformations rather than changes and assimilations may prove fruitful.

With changing urban conditions and city-life, one should also consider the changing economic implications. The changing economic conditions within the Cypriot cities during the Hellenistic period should have also entailed some significant changes in financing, and as a result, in the sociological structure of their religion. A more centralised political system might also have naturally implied a more centralised economic system. During the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, for example, each city-kingdom would have financed some sacrifices and festivals and the building and upkeep of some sanctuaries. In the Hellenistic period, financial management shifted from the city-state to a more unified and politically-central control. In this context, it has to be said that—even if only in a solitary example—epigraphic evidence suggests that an *oikonomos* (economic administrator) may have worked in association with the *Strategos* of Cyprus.[342] Let us also remember that by the late third/early second century BC, the *Strategos* also receives the title of the *Archiereus* of the island, which is directly related to the Ptolemaic royal cult and the creation of a more unifying politico-religious ideology.

Setting up new temples and cults, and maintaining sanctuaries can be a very costly undertaking. State general revenues, financing state festivals, and the building and upkeep of sanctuaries, should be expected to go

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[341] Instrumental in this regard is the work of Alroth (1998) and Mylonopoulos (2008). For published work related to these issues in a Cypriot context see Anastassiades (2007a), where he discusses the 'Cypriot pantheon' from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period and Solomidou-Ieronymidou (1985) where she attempts to study Cypriot religion through the epigraphic evidence; while the epithets or the *epicleseis* of some deities found their parallel with, or rather have their origin in, numerous inscriptions from various parts of Greece, a number of inscriptions preserve certain epithets of these gods which attest to the purely Cypriot aspect of their cult.

[342] On the *oikonomos* working jointly with the *Strategos* and not as a subordinate, see Bagnall 1976, 248.

towards more prestigious, 'high-status' sanctuaries, or the setting up of new temples and/or cults, such as the ruler cult and the cults of Sarapis and Isis (all of which seem to have been merged with that of Aphrodite), related to that sense of a more unified 'national' politico-religious identity.[343] Additionally, in the Hellenistic period, with the advent of a new, unified political system, the balance of power in cult affairs and the very expression of power was shifting from the city-states to wealthy citizens identifying with the ruling classes, and wanting recognition for their contributions. In Hellenistic II period, dedication of statues, proclaiming the services of those individuals and their families, were going either in more secular places, such as the agora, or to more renowned, 'high-status' and multi-visited sanctuaries such as that of Palaipaphos (Appendix 2: table 1). Finally, when considering religious finances in relation to Ptolemaic power and ideology, it should be kept in mind that sanctuaries were large-scale employers, and cults, especially the new ones, created various job opportunities.

Hellenistic philosophical perceptions of life, including individualism and scepticism, as well as scientific, medical and technological developments certainly influenced society.[344] A new cosmology relating to heaven, earth and the underworld emerged, creating a more 'unified picture' of the world.[345] The significant contribution of a Ptolemaic revolution within that process, towards a new 'architecture of the cosmos', should be recognised.[346] In elite intellectual circles, the influence and interaction between philosophy, science and medicine both in physiological theories (such as the role of *pneuma* as a vital force) and in theories of causation, cannot be doubted, and can easier be attested through textual evidence.[347] Textual evidence, therefore, confirms that Cypriots participated actively in all the intellectual developments of the Hellenistic period, including philosophy and medicine.[348] This influence cannot be easily attested for the non-elites, and can be very problematic, as we can only rely on the existing material evidence. In Cyprus, a place of 'Hellenism' where strong local/island traditions and multi-layered interactions were in place, and where we are confronted

343 Papantoniou 2009 and 2011.
344 Uhlenbrock 1990a; Long 1993; Walbank 1993, 176–197; White 1993; Shipley 2000, 326–367; Flemming 2003; Mitsis 2003; Chamoux 2003, 323–392; Sharples 2006; Keyser and Irby-Massie 2006.
345 Martin 1987, 6.
346 Martin 1987, 6–7.
347 Sharples 2006, 238; cf. von Staden 1996.
348 Hadjistephanou 2000; Michaelides, K. 2000; Michaelides 2006; 2007.

with the lack of archaeological visibility, the case becomes even more problematic. These new philosophical perceptions and scientific developments, and new secular attitudes about life and the divine (including the wide Hellenistic notion that life is what you see here),[349] however, working together with changing religious fashions, perceptions and soteriological transformations, often accumulated under the widespread notion of 'henotheism',[350] had an influence on religion, and they are to some degree archaeologically recoverable.[351] One should thus rethink the involvement of ideology and the direct association of elites with religion within ancient societies, in order to communicate politico-religious agendas.

The 'paradox of mortal divinity',[352] for instance, and its association with other divine cults, might have also periodically transformed life perceptions and worldviews. As seen when examining the Ptolemaic cult in the Hellenistic period in more detail, the nature and role of the divine was redefined: "as gods became more human and mortals more divine, the traditional distinctions were blurred",[353] and movement from one realm to the other or from myth to history was now facilitated far more easily than before (ch. 4.2). This might well be illustrated in Cypriot coinage, for example, one of the best ways to promote ideology. While the coins of each city-kingdom often bear a divine protector, from the Hellenistic period onwards the coins bear the king's portrait and his dynastic symbols/associations.[354] Another example is the perception about Tyche (fortune), which during the Hellenistic period becomes a goddess, and is attested in Cyprus by many inscriptions.[355] Those new more secularised perceptions and worldviews, along with new practices and cults offering salvation, protection and the benefits of healing—i.e. the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia, that is at least epigraphically attested

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349 Chaniotis 2003, 432.

350 Versnel 1990, 35–38.

351 For general and informative reviews on the intellectual, spiritual and religious developments of the Hellenistic world see Grant 1980; Martin 1987; Walbank 1993, 207–226; Lévêque 1999, 119–193; Shipley 2000, 153–191; Chamoux 2003, 323–373; Potter 2003. Shipley (2000, 155–156, 161–162) is right when suggesting that only a small minority of people would have had established ideas related to 'atheism' or 'agnosticism'.

352 Chaniotis 2003.

353 Henrichs 2001, 241.

354 It needs to be mentioned, however, that such a practice of placing a human 'portrait' on Cypriot coins might have started already by the Cypro-Classical period: see Markou 2007.

355 For a collection of all the Cypriot epigraphic evidence related to Tyche see Bennett 1980, 451–452.

in Cyprus,[356] and that of Isis which is also attested on the island[357]—and Hellenistic magic, definitely resulted in the creation of a new world order, where philosophy and religion, the rational and the mystical were all incorporated in established local traditions.[358]

The Toumballos sanctuary at Nea Paphos (also known as 'Garrison's Camp'), which will be examined in more detail in relation to the so-called Amathousian 'subterranean cult place', could provide major evidence of this. Its architecture reveals strong evidence about mystery or/and chthonic cults, a very widespread religious element of the Hellenistic period.[359] At least one similar subterranean cult place, however, namely the sanctuary of Apollo *Hylates* at the site of Alonia tou Episkopou at Nea Paphos, probably connected with mystic divinations or chthonic cults, seems to exist in Cyprus already in the fourth century BC.[360] Additionally, initiation or healing cults might also be introduced more widely in Cyprus, as the evidence from Geronisos suggests (see below). As for the existence of medical sanctuaries for children, this could be testified by documents such as the small Egyptian magical stele of the 'Horus with crocodiles' type found in Kition-Bamboula and probably dating from the end of the Hellenistic period.[361] Additionally, from the Hellenistic period onwards, the number of ex-votos related to medicine and/or healing cults is increased.[362] It is important however, that evidence of salvation and healing is also recorded in Cypriot sanctuaries, particularly in Kition, before the Hellenistic period.[363] Cypriot 'temple-boys' might be the most illustrative example of healing cults in Cypriot

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356 Anastassiades 2007a, 166. For the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Cyprus see Bennett (1980, 365–367) and Yon (2008, 159–160) where the possible syncretism between the pre-Hellenistic cult of Eshmun in Cyprus with that of Asclepius is also discussed. Nicolaou K. (1977, 530) has interpreted a building lying in front of the Paphos odeon as an *Asclepieion* or a *bouleuterion*; on the problematic nature of this interpretation see Młynarczyk 1990, 210.

357 In this context it should be said that the presence of artefacts related to Isis and other Egyptian gods is already attested on the island by the Late Bronze Age but this does not mean that they were worshipped or accepted as gods on the island. While such representations on small objects could be regarded as exotic or as *genii*, the presence of 'Hathor' or 'Ammon', for instance, should be seen as local religious translations and assimilations: see Anastassiades 2007a, 164–165.

358 Martin 1987; Miller-Ammermann 1990, 37–39; Potter 2003.

359 Młynarczyk 1990, 226–232; Giudice and Giudice 1998.

360 Młynarczyk 1980; 1990, 76–85, 229.

361 *BCH* 114(2), 967, fig. 88; Gasse 1991; Mehl 2000, 739; Yon 2007, 60; 2008, 159–160.

362 See for example Pieridou 1966; Hermary 1989a, 449–454; Masson 1997; Karageorghis 2000c, 258. For comparative evidence with other Mediterranean regions see Lembke (2004) for Amrit, and Stucky (2005) for Sidon; cf. Karageorghis 2007 and Hermary 2007a.

363 Caubet 1988; Mehl 2000, 739–740, note 104; Michaelides 2006.

sanctuaries. Further discussion on issues of cult in relation to politico-religious ideologies will be attempted below, and particularly within the next two chapters where we will focus on particular case studies and particular votive categories. In the context of sacred landscapes, however, it should be added that all these issues might indeed be connected both with the decrease of building activity and with the *ex novo* foundation of sanctuaries.

Ex novo foundation of Hellenistic sanctuaries on the island should be associated either with the creation of new communities and the foundation of new cities where necessity for sacred space would have existed, or with the creation of new socio-political forces. The distribution of settlements in the various published survey projects and in the Cyprus Survey Inventory is quite dense; nonetheless, I have managed to locate 23 sites that might have functioned as a sanctuary *ex novo* in the Hellenistic period (Appendix 1: table 5), a number quite limited in comparison with the establishment of sanctuaries in earlier periods. One should probably connect the decrease in the sacred building activity with the lack of a need to define territorial boundaries. As discussed above, we should consider how the unification of the political system might also have resulted in a more unified cultic system.

Within the aforementioned socio-political forces the politico-religious ideology of the Ptolemies is included. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence can shed light on this phenomenon. Epigraphic evidence, for instance, informs us about the foundation of a *Ptolemaeion* in the late second century BC probably at Nea Paphos, namely a sanctuary or temple dedicated to the Ptolemies, founded by Onesandros, who exercised a priesthood in Alexandria and then moved to Cyprus.[364] A similar situation could be attested for Asclepiades, who was the priest of a sanctuary founded by himself, dedicated probably to a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty.[365] Finally, the foundation of an *Arsinoeion* at Idalion, a sanctuary or temple dedicated to Arsinoe, is attested in the mid-third century BC.[366] It is important to note, however, that in that case, we are not dealing with a sanctuary *ex novo*, but instead with a new temple dedicated to the queen within the traditional

364 Mitford 1961a, 40–41; Bagnall 1976, 70–71; Anastassiades 2003a, 44; 2003b, 118; Stieglitz 1997, 304.

365 Mitford 1961a, 40, no. 109; Bagnall 1976, 71; Młynarczyk 1990, 150–151; Anastassiades 2003b, 118. It has to be said that this inscription is highly restored by Mitford and the name of Ptolemy is not included on the preserved inscription.

366 Nicolaou 1993, 228; Anastassiades 2003a, 47.

temenos of Apollo/Reshef or Adonis.[367] Similarly to the cult of the Roman emperors, in the Hellenistic period traditional sanctuaries came to include the ruler in two main ways: firstly, separate buildings dedicated to the cult of the ruler might be put within the sanctuaries,[368] while, secondly, as seen in the cases of Amathous and Soloi-Cholades, inscriptions refer to Ptolemies and other divinities as *synnaoi theoi* (temple-sharing gods).[369]

Inscriptions, therefore, record the construction of temples, but their remains seldom survive. Exceptions can be found at the temple of Zeus at Salamis, built on a podium at the end of the second century BC,[370] and on the Phanari Hill at Nea Paphos,[371] constructed on a stepped platform at about the same time. There is also a possibility that a similar temple was constructed during the Hellenistic period on the top of the Phabrika Hill, Nea Paphos, next to the theatre,[372] at the 'acropolis' of Soloi,[373] and in the sanctuary of Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion,[374] the latter however built definitely not in a site *ex novo*. Flourentzos dates a recently found temple in the lower city of Amathous in the 'Graeco-Roman' period, but any accurate criteria for its architecture and its establishment based on the extant stage of publication remain tentative.[375] The podium of a small temple at Nea Paphos may also date to the Hellenistic period, according to Maier and Karageorghis;[376]

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367 Senff 1993, 12; Mehl 2000, 743; see above: footnote 218.

368 cf. Price 1986, 147.

369 Anastassiades 2003a, 51.

370 Argout et al. 1975, 138–139; Callot 1985.

371 Młynarczyk 1990, 202–203; 1996, 196. The existence of a Hellenistic temple on the Phanari Hill has very recently been reassessed by the Hungarian archaeological mission in Nea Paphos. Their research methodology was the comparative artistic analysis of the architectural heritage of Hellenistic Alexandria and Taposiris Magna with Nea Paphos. Later written historical sources, also, reinforce the existence of the temple on the Hill. With the archaeological and architectural investigations conducted at the site by using comparative analyses of Egyptian Hellenistic cities, the Hungarians were able to make a theoretical reconstruction of the temple, erected at the top of the Phanari Hill: see Vörös 2006. Finally, it has to be mentioned, that there is a possibility that on the hill was also the Hellenistic 'palace': Młynarczyk 1996.

372 Młynarczyk 1985; 1990, 218–222. We also have to consider the possibility that a temenos pre-existed at the site already in the fourth century BC, with the establishment of Nea Paphos: Młynarczyk 1990, 218–219.

373 *SCE* 3: 412–413, figs 217–218; cf. Młynarczyk 1996, 196.

374 For the debate regarding the dating of the monument see Sinos 1990, 135–138. In his recent edition of Kourion's guide Christou (2008b, 78) dates the earliest phase of the temple in the early Roman period.

375 Fourentzos 2007d.

376 Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 231.

nonetheless, based on the architectural evidence (i.e. the staircase which is carved only in the front part of the podium), we have to suggest that even if this building was representing a temple, most likely, it would be of a Roman date. Connelly suggests that a temple-like structure with Ionic columns was also constructed on Geronisos;[377] based on the existing evidence, this interpretation remains open to discussion. The foundation of remarkable Greek-style temples on the island might also be suggested by the marble frieze found in Soloi, representing an Amazonomachy; although chronology based merely on style can be very problematic, it is interesting to note that all the authorities of Greek sculpture have dated this monumental relief within the fourth century BC, probably in the last quarter of the century, i.e. very early in the Hellenistic period.[378] This is in opposition to the rest of the evidence regarding the construction of podium temples in the island. Although problems of archaeological visibility should be considered, one can hardly deny that, even among the strong 'hellenising' policy of various Cypro-Classical *Basileis*, nothing like a classic Greek temple appeared on Cyprus before the Hellenistic period, and it would seem that even then, its incidence was slight.[379]

The ideological authority in the landscape can usually be conceptualised by considering the construction and elaboration of monuments, particularly monumental architecture.[380] Next to the Ptolemaic attention towards old traditional urban sanctuaries, such as that of Palaipaphos and Amathous, it is noted that Greek-style temple architecture is added to the Cypriot sacred landscapes, not in the extra-urban environment of Cyprus, but in the direct environs of the major urban centres where Ptolemaic power and cult would have been practiced more markedly. Additionally, during the early Hellenistic period, sanctuaries *ex novo*, such as that of Soloi-Cholades, with strong allusions to Ptolemaic cult, are built following the traditional Cypriot architecture of the Iron Age Cypriot temenos.[381] The only *ex novo* sanctuaries that have been properly excavated, namely the sanctuary sites of Soloi-Cholades, Kafizin and Geronisos, reveal direct or indirect evidence

377 Connelly 2009a, 198; 2009b, 73.
378 Vermeule 1976, 47.
379 Wright 1992b, 267. For a detailed study of the introduction of Classical orders in the Hellenistic Cyprus, see Vanderstar 1997.
380 Trigger 1990.
381 However, it is not suggested that evidence for the Ptolemaic cult is absent from other, not clearly urban sanctuaries, such as the Kafizin, or the Mersinaki one, from which comes the only reference to the Ptolemies as gods from the area of Soloi: Anastassiades 2003a, 47.

about Ptolemaic cult. The excavation level and reports and the cultic evidence unearthed from the important site at Soloi-Cholades,[382] allow a more rigorous analysis of the cult, and deserves to be re-thought in its own terms (ch. 3.2). Based on the interpretations of the sites of Kafizin and Geronisos, however, we should also briefly examine those sites in the context of sacred landscapes as instrumental examples for the involvement of royal ideology and management of cult within a more unifying politico-religious and economic system. It is worth mentioning, however, that both the Kafizin and Geronisos sanctuaries, in contrast with Soloi, have been attributed a very short life-span, something which cannot yet be adequately explained. Nonetheless, by focusing on sites with a short life-span, we can usually identify evidence not recognisable in sites with longer life-spans.

The Cases of Kafizin and Geronisos: Windows to Ptolemaic Ideologies?

Unexpectedly, Kafizin, although a minor extra-urban cave sanctuary with no architecture or many cultic offerings other than pottery and lamps provides major evidence not only for Ptolemaic cult and ideology, but also for the relations of various guilds or federations with sanctuaries and economic activity. As far as I can ascertain, although the word *koinonia* is repeatedly used in the epigraphic record of Kafizin,[383] the term *koinon* (in its conception as a union or guild) has been avoided by scholars (with the exception of Lund)[384] that have been concerned with Kafizin, and if I am not mistaken, by Mitford himself. A preference for the terms 'company', 'federation' or 'association' can be therefore noted. However, it is well-known from other areas of the Mediterranean that associations of this sort were highly involved in religious practice and they generally gathered together persons not only of the same citizenship, but also often with similar professional interests.[385] What I argue here is that one should probably encapsulate and introduce more clearly the concept of *koinon* when dealing with Kafizin. I suggest that in order to understand the site we should draw comparisons with other Cypriot extra-urban sanctuaries, but also with cases outside Cyprus. In accordance with other extra-urban sanctuaries where the existence of *thiasoi* can be attested, e.g. the temenos at Pyla,[386] it can be suggested that

382 Westholm 1936.
383 Mitford 1980, Indices: 277–278.
384 Lund 2001, 51.
385 Fraser 1972, 185–188; Młynarczyk 1990, 152, note 280; specifically for the case of Kafizin, cf. Lund 2002, 14; Lejeune 2009, 318–319.
386 Masson 1966, 11–21; Mehl 2000, 746.

the population visiting them was mixed, that is both military settlers and local population. Like the case of Kafizin, some inscriptions are written in Cypro-syllabic and other in alphabetic script. The person who dedicates at Apollo at Pyla is a *mantiarches*, practicing some sort of divination. The same title is also ascribed to Onesagoras, the 'priest' of Kafizin. In Athens, the cult of Isis in the Hellenistic period becomes the concern of a private *koinon*.[387] Similarly to Kafizin, we have a private cult without a real priesthood. The priest is a high-rank citizen. In the inscriptions of Kafizin the Nymph is characterised as *epekoos is philorkeion*, that is the one who oversees the oaths and/or "harkening to one who backs his prayers with vows".[388] As Mitford emphasises, at Kafizin we have a private chapel of a company, a commercial *bourgeoisie*, which Onesagoras directed.[389] In conclusion, at Kafizin we have a special cast of people, where secrecy is important.

A corpus of 309 inscribed pottery fragments, catalogued by Mitford, coincides with a period of seven Ptolemaic regnal years (225–218 BC),[390] i.e. the years just before a *Strategos* can securely be attested on the island. The use of the Cypro-syllabic script in this sanctuary in relation to Cypriot identity, and possibly the incorporation of the local script and elites in Ptolemaic administration, particularly in Hellenistic I, should probably be addressed more clearly (cf. ch. 1.2). Out of the total number of texts, 66 are syllabic.[391] According to Mitford, with some exceptions only, the syllabary is not to be found on decorated or complicated wares, but occurs freely on more utilitarian pots.[392] This disproportionate distribution, along with the fact that the Nymph's dynastic title *Adelphe* is almost totally restricted to the most luxurious pieces, suggest that the more ornamental and expensive pieces were designed for an aristocratic market of Ptolemaic administrators and local elites, to whom the Cypriot syllabary was either alien or unfashionable.

Inscription no. 236 refers to a decision made in the time of Zenon Ledrios, by Onesagoras, to express goodwill on behalf of himself and all his associates towards the Marian company.[393] *Androklou oikos* and Zenon's company for flax and linseed are to be found in the majority of inscriptions. Mitford

387 Pakkanen 1996.
388 Mitford 1980, 264; cf. Mehl 2000, 746–747.
389 Mitford 1980, 262.
390 Mitford 1950a, 101; 1980, 251–252.
391 Note, however, that no. 56 is in a non-Greek, but seemingly Eteocypriot, language: Mitford 1980, 264, note 2.
392 Mitford 1980, 264.
393 Mitford 1980, 175–176.

argues that only one *koinonia* is in question, variously called 'Zenon's' and 'of Androklos', and he concludes that Zenon was the leading partner, and the eponym of this company of Cypriots, engaged in the farming of these two commodities. In Mitford's interpretation, *Androklou oikos* was in origin a farm or estate "in the possession of one Androklos, either in early Hellenistic or perhaps in late Classical times, possibly as a *δωρεά* of the first or second Ptolemy, possibly of a local king, to become later, as a 'village', the company's head-quarters"; although this interpretation is indeed extremely bold and abstract, it shows that Onesagoras in effect was Zenon's 'managing director', a *dekatephoros*, giver or receiver of tithes.[394] It has also been assumed that the partners associated with Zenon and headed by Onesagoras may have been the potters.[395] Bagnall's suggestion should be seen in tandem with my proposition of the incorporation of local elites and scripts in the Ptolemaic administration in Cyprus: Kafizin probably points to the existence of large estates with peasantry, paying a percentage of their produce to an agent, who would have been responsible for the royal taxes imposed on the land.[396]

The recent work of Pilides, who re-considers the finds from Kafizin along with those from the site at the Agios Georgios Hill in Nicosia, sheds more light on the evidence. Moreover, it should be stated, that in the immediate vicinity of Kafizin itself, there is a place called Niphkia, a name derived from Nymph and therefore to be interpreted as 'the place of the Nymph', where faint traces of ancient occupation can still be detected.[397] This site calls for an archaeological investigation, which might reveal important evidence, but unfortunately the political situation in Cyprus, and the fact that Niphkia lies in 'no-man's-land', make any further plans for fieldwork impossible.

The noun *kerameus* occurs in 75 texts and in a further nine of questionable restoration at Kafizin. Moreover, the names of 18 potters have survived, including citizens of Chytroi, Soloi, Keryneia, Tamassos and Kyrnos, an adjacent unidentified location.[398] According to Mitford, the number and quality of these gifts to the Nymph reflect the size and value of a season's harvest;

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394 Mitford 1980, 92; 254, 256–258; cf. Bagnall 1976, 76–78; *contra* this interpretation see Bingen 1982, 170–173 and Mehl 2000, 721–722, note 96. It has to be mentioned that it is possible that *dekate* here is related to the sanctuary itself rather than more broadly to the collection of the tax (personal communication with P. Keen, September 2011).

395 Mitford 1980, 259–260.

396 Bagnall 1976, 78.

397 Mitford 1980, 254.

398 Mitford 1980, 259; Masson 1981, 627; Pilides 2004, 162.

they were in effect ex-voto offerings and represent the company's indebtedness to its patroness, calculated and paid in the currency of pots.[399] I believe that the number of the cities involved in the company, consisting of people sharing the same professional interests, is related to process towards the proposed unification of economies and cult during the Hellenistic period, but also enhances the possible existence of a *koinon* at Kafizin.

The finds from Agios Georgios, where a major settlement reorganisation can be seen in the Hellenistic period, have significant parallels with those from the sanctuary of Kafizin.[400] Raw and waste material and the various types of installation document the entire *chaîne opératoire* of ceramic, stone and metal artefacts. Moreover, inscribed vessels, mainly amphorae, jugs or hydriai and bowls, both in the syllabic and alphabetic scripts, incised either before or after firing—like those of Kafizin—in some cases possibly indicate a name, perhaps a potter.[401] In addition, while the commonest find on the Agios Georgios site is the discoid clay loomweight of various sizes, many of them were evidently reused many times and a percentage of about 3.3 % are unfired, indicating local manufacture. Furthermore, as Pilides emphasises, the presence of loomweights, an *epinetron* (i.e. a weaving tool), as well as unfired fragments of jugs and bowls in the tombs of Agioi Omologites, Nicosia, further confirms that the site was inhabited by coroplasts/potters and weavers.[402]

In addition to Onesagoras' administrative function, it has been suggested that he also held a religious function consecrating the Nymph in a symbolic way.[403] Inscription no. 227 informs us that in the late summer Zenon's company held a festival and games in honour of the Nymph. Onesagoras seems to have been in charge of the festival and the one responsible for the presentation of an expensive item, probably an *eikona* (a carved stone in relief or, most probably, a 'likeness' painted on wood according to Mitford), portraying the Nymph pouring a libation to Zeus. According to Mitford, a pestilence may have been the motive of the Nymph's intercession with Zeus, and the men mentioned in the inscription may have formed a deputation, headed by Onesagoras himself, to escort the *eikona*.[404] Inscription no. 266a refers to the sanctuary as commanding the countryside and Mitford suggests that

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399 Mitford 1980, 259–260.
400 Pilides 2004, 158–159.
401 Pilides 2004, 163.
402 Pilides 2004, 159.
403 Mitford 1980, 262; Hermary 2006a, 67–72; Ustinova 2009, 64.
404 Mitford 1980, 169.

Androklou oikos must have been in the immediate vicinity of Kafizin itself.[405] Ledra, Chytroi, Tamassos and Idalion could well have attended the festival.[406]

The title *Adelphe*, confined almost entirely to decorated wares, and the unique mention of the *Philadelphus* title in inscription no. 300 reflect the connection between the worship of the Nymph and the Ptolemaic cult, and more specifically the cult of Arsinoe, wife and sister of Ptolemy II, deified around 270 BC. This evidence was considered in association with the worship at the neighbouring Chytroi and Idalion. The inscription from Chytroi is very important, as it is the only source from Cyprus which directly connects the Ptolemaic queen to a divinity, in this case to the Nymph Naias, protector of the sweet waters of springs, rivers and lakes.[407] At Idalion the cult of the queen was indicated by an inscription, mentioning a *kanephoros*, dated to 254 BC and an *Arsinoeion*.[408] Inscriptions mentioning the name of Arsinoe have been found on a variety of objects indicating that her cult was widespread in Cyprus, both in public and also in domestic/private life.[409] In Pilides' interpretation, an inscription *Arsinoes Philadelphou* found together with sufficient evidence of cult activity points to the worship of the queen on the site of Agios Georgios, a sanctuary that would have been the nearest in terms of distance to Kafizin.[410]

Pilides questions the exact relationship between a settlement, where weaving and ceramic production were amongst the preoccupations of the inhabitants, and the Nymph's grotto, where dedications were made by potters and associates of a company for flax and linseed. Although this question still remains to be clarified, the common provenance of the wares from the two sites has recently been scientifically verified by chemical

405 Mitford 1980, 254.

406 Mitford 1980, 260.

407 Masson 1971, 450–452; Nicolaou 1993, 228, A; Anastassiades 1998, 134.

408 For the *kanephoros* inscription see: Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 32, no. 24; Nicolaou 1993, 228, D; Anastassiades 1998, 134–135. This inscription is also very important, as it is related to the aforementioned discussion regarding Ptolemaic ideology and the cultural/religious clash between Ptolemies and Cypro-Phoenicians. It is written in the Phoenician language and alphabet and mentions a *kanephoros* of Arsinoe both at Kition and Idalion. We are therefore informed that a cult of Arsinoe was also practiced at Kition, and the Cypro-Phoenicians were active enough to participate in it; for the *Arsinoeion* see Mitford 1961a, 8; Masson 1968, 402; Nicolaou 1993, 228, B; Anastassiades 1998, 134.

409 Hill 1940 184–185; Nicolaou 1993; Anastassiades 1998, 132; Marquaille 2001, 212–215. Inscribed 'altars' for the cult of Arsinoe have been found in private houses in other areas of the Mediterranean: see Chaniotis 2003, 442.

410 Pilides 2003, 184; 2004, 163; 2007, 134.

analyses.[411] The contributions of Mitford, and more recently of Pilides, to our understanding of the economic organisation of this period and its relation to Ptolemaic ideology, and possibly, to aspects of a 'unification of cult' in the form of associations with strong economic activity, are of great importance.

Pilides is in agreement with Mitford that the income from the flax harvest was possibly used for the employment of potters and the manufacture of pottery, so that the activity of the production centre would not be restricted to a short season and a fluctuating harvest.[412] In my opinion, this could suggest a number of arguments with regard to Ptolemaic ideology on the island and the relations of elites and non-elites, which seem to be bridged by the very medium of employment and religion. Secondly, Pilides continues, the current interpretation of the inscriptions indicates that more organisations of this kind were active on the island and that some sort of connection existed between them. Zenon's company was concerned with Marion which was refounded in 270 BC by Ptolemy *Philadelphus* as Arsinoe. In this context, Pilides adds that the concern and 'fraternal greetings' perceived with respect to the Marian company (which was possibly involved in some other economic acts) may reflect a network of such organisations closely related to the upkeep of sanctuaries dedicated to Arsinoe. She further develops her argument using the evidence from Nea Paphos and Kition. At Nea Paphos, weavers (their existence reflected in the presence of loomweights, some of which were stamped) were occupied in the production of rope and textiles, while metalworkers produced weapons, all commodities of great importance for the Ptolemaic state, especially in relation to ship building and military power. Furthermore, inscriptions from Kition also refer to various craftsmen including metalworkers, potters, masons and others. Pilides, finally, argues that perhaps the use of seals on loomweights should be viewed in this context, particularly if the *apomoira*, the tax of 1/6 on the produce of vineyards and gardens, which was established in Egypt by *Philadelphus* for the benefit of the Arsinoe's cult in 265/4, was also levied on Cyprus.[413] The existence of ritual shaving at Kafizin, recently proposed by

411 Pilides 2009, 60–61.

412 Pilides 2004, 163–164.

413 On the *apomoira* see Clarysse and Vandorpe 1998. The suggestion that the evidence from Kafizin could probably be associated with the *apomoira* has also been made by other scholars: e.g. Bagnall 1976, 78; Anastassiades 1998, 133. The only probable reference known so far from Cyprus to the *apomoira* comes from an inscription from Marion, dated to the reign of Ptolemy III (246–222 BC): see Mitford 1953a, 88; Bagnall 1976, 78; *AKEP* 4(2): 121–122, nos 101–102.

Lejeune, might indeed justify the proposed suggestion of the Nymph's cult within a broader framework of Ptolemaic politico-religious and politico-economic agency:[414] not only ritual shaving in the Greek world was practiced during the cult of Pan and the Nymphs, but also, there is textual evidence (Catullus 66, *De Coma Berenices*) where a Ptolemaic queen devotes a lock of hair to Arsinoe *Zephyritis*.[415] These issues should further be considered within the context of Hellenistic 'religious syncretism', discussed in detail in the following chapter.

On the other hand, the sanctuary at Geronisos island dates to the late years of Ptolemaic rule on Cyprus. This small island lies just off the western shores of Cyprus and its name means 'holy island' (*iere nesos*), probably indicating the sacred character of the place. It was initially excavated by the Department of Antiquities, and then by Connelly on behalf of New York University.[416] During the last years of the Hellenistic period, a significant building programme took place on the island, including ashlar building activity and water cisterns. The site flourished only for a very limited period, between 80/70 and 40/30 BC. According to Connelly, the structures built on Geronisos had a very specific purpose and the island was a single use site.[417] At a very visible place when approaching from the sea, a building, interpreted as a temple (see above), was constructed.[418] Very little of the building survives, as it fell with the entire western part of the island into the sea sometime before the sixth century AD, but its size would indeed have been remarkable. The use of plaster, both in its construction and decoration, according to the excavator, directly connects the island to Hellenistic Alexandria, where the use of plaster in architecture and sculpture was developed into a high art.[419]

A number of finds may hint at the nature of the worship and worshippers. Inscribed sherds with male names and writing exercises of children have been found. Additionally, an inscribed sherd bears the name of Apollo, which, according to Connelly might give us the name of the divinity worshipped there.[420] With the temple at the west and the cistern at the east

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414 Lejeune 2009, particularly 322–323.
415 Lejeune 2009, 320.
416 *ARDAC* 1983: 39–40; Connelly 1996; 2002; 2005; 2009a; Connelly and Wilson 2002.
417 Connelly 2007a, 37.
418 Connelly 2002, 264–266.
419 Connelly 2007a, 39.
420 Connelly 2007a, 43; as she argues, however, the final letter of the inscription indicates an abbreviation, and it would therefore also be possible to resolve the letters as a proper

of the island, the central section was reserved for the domestic quarter. A circular structure within the 'North Central Sector' of the island has been interpreted as a probable dance floor, similar to that found in the sanctuary of Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion.[421] The so-called 'Central South Complex' comprises a series of small rooms with low stone benches, courtyards and verandas, where various cooking pots, drinking cups and eating vessels (of noteworthy small size), and 15 stamp-seals of presumably amuletic function, were found.[422] The cooking ware suggests that liquid or strained foods dominated the diet on Geronisos, something, which in Connelly's interpretation may indicate the presence of children.[423] The occurence of inscribed male names and children's writing exercises, in particular, are key-elements when one attempts to address the nature of cult practiced on Geronisos.[424]

In Connelly's interpretation, the placement of the cult away from the island of Cyprus itself along with the archaeological evidence found there point to the practice of rites of passage on the island and/or, in my opinion, the practice of healing cults functioning within the soteriological framework of Ptolemaic politico-religious ideology, examined in more detail in the following chapter.[425] As in the case of Idalion and the incorporation of the Arsinoe cult within a traditional Cypriot temenos (see above), and the case of Soloi-Cholades (examined in detail in the following chapter), on Geronisos, again, we note the incorporation of Ptolemaic ideology within indigenous religious practices.[426] The discussion on Cypriot 'temple-boys' and the assimilations between Heracles/Melqart, Apollo/Reshef, Adonis and Eshmun[427] in a Cypriot context is a further indication about the possible healing aspect of Geronisos. Yon, in particular, makes this connection of 'temple-boys' with healing cults in relation with Kition, where the evidence is much clearer and diachronic.[428]

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name, like Apollonios. One should therefore refrain from using this inscription as conclusive evidence for the Apollo cult. However, bearing in mind the importance of Apollo in a Cypriot context, and the strong presence of votaries associated with males, Apollo would be an appropriate candidate for the worship on Geronisos.

421 Connelly 2009b, 83; 2009c, 297–303.

422 Connelly 2005; Connelly and Plantzos 2006.

423 Connelly 2007a, 45.

424 Connelly 2007a, 41–42.

425 I wish to thank D. Michaelides (University of Cyprus) for discussion and ideas on the possible healing aspect of Cypriot 'temple-boys' and Geronisos.

426 cf. Connelly 2009b, 84.

427 Bennett 1980, 366; Yon 1986, 147, 2008, 159–160.

428 Yon 2008, 159–160.

The strongest evidence for the centrality of young boys in Geronisos' cult activity, according to Connelly, is provided by the aforementioned series of 15 small limestone amulets of pyramidal, rectangular, and conical shape, and unique to the site.[429] Most of them are pierced and meant to be worn around the neck. Some are not finished, and therefore the manufacture of the objects probably took place on the island itself. "They may well have served as sacred charms, worn to commemorate the unique experience of worship on Holy Island".[430] Those amulets, according to Connelly and Plantzos,[431] resemble the pendants worn by the limestone and terracotta statues of the so-called 'temple-boys', dedicated in Cypriot sanctuaries from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period.[432] Scholarship has traditionally seen 'temple-boys' as votives, primarily in the sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo,[433] but Petit has recently demonstrated that they were equally common dedications in the sanctuaries of the 'Great Goddess'.[434] These images are no longer regarded as representations of actual boy-servants to the divinity, but instead, as votive statues, dedicated by families, possibly to commemorate rites of passage,[435] or to ask for recovery from an illness.[436] 'Temple-boys' wear amulets similar to those found on Geronisos, together with other charms, such as bevel rings and discs suspended from strings hung diagonically across their chests. Similar charms have been found in Geronisos, including a scarab of Egyptian origin showing the image of the lioness-goddess Sekhmet, who has associations with war, magic, medicine and motherhood.[437]

What is more important in regard to the sacred landscapes is the evidence that Geronisos could supply in relation to Ptolemaic ideology and the building of new temples. While the amulets are decorated with motifs drawn from the long-standing Cypriot tradition, such as the Cypriot 'tree of life', the Cypriot bird and probable Cypriot syllabic signs,[438] they also

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429 Connelly and Plantzos 2006, 263–293; Connelly 2007a, 45–48.
430 Connelly 2007a, 46.
431 Connelly and Plantzos 2006, 269–270.
432 Beer 1994.
433 Connelly 2007a, 46, note 33.
434 Petit 2007b, 78.
435 Laffineur 1997. Various interpretations have been given to those representations, including references to sacred prostitution (Sjöqvist 1955, 46), to circumcision (Beer 1987, 23), or simply to some rite of passage (Hermary 1989a, 69).
436 Beer 1985, 389.
437 Connelly 2007a, 46.
438 One example displays a star pattern similar to the Cypriot syllabic sign for the letter

incorporate strong Ptolemaic connotations and symbols, such as the Ptolemaic eagle, the Isis crown and even a portrait of a Ptolemaic ruler and a very late Ptolemy wearing the double crown of the Egyptian Pharaoh. Sometimes designs from the two traditions are combined on a single amulet. Connelly and Plantzos move to a comparison of the Cypriot stamp-seals with those found among the clay seal impressions from Edfu in Egypt.[439] Numerous parallels can be drawn in relation to Ptolemaic symbols and iconography.

Connelly puts forward the connection of Edfu with Ptolemaic ideology and the probable implications on the island of Cyprus:[440] the 'house of birth', the *mammisi*, where the mystery birth of Horus was celebrated, lies within the temple of Horus at Edfu. Cleopatra is known to have established temples in Egypt celebrating the birth of her son. Additionally, coins, representing Cleopatra wearing the crown of Isis support the idea that Cleopatra associated herself with Isis in 47 BC, the year of Caesarion's birth.[441] The crown of Isis is represented both in Edfu and Geronisos seals, as is the case for the aforementioned Ptolemaic heads. The link between Edfu and Geronisos, according to Connelly, might indeed be central to the association of the Cypriot sanctuary with the tradition of Egyptian birth temples.

Further excavation and research are needed to clarify the picture. One could suggest that the sanctuary at Geronisos, isolated from the rest of Cyprus, could have been used by non-native Cypriots for specific cultic purposes, foreign to the Cypriot tradition. Or, we could further suggest that this isolation in relation to the presence of children and the 'temple-boys' evidence, relates to a specific function of the site as a healing centre. I would categorically argue against the first proposition. The association with the local tradition of 'temple-boys' and the inter-mixing of Cypriot and Alexandrian motifs, sometimes upon a single object,[442] clearly suggest the use of the place by people sharing a common ideology, not to say a culture. Let us remember the chronological span of Geronisos, at the very end

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alpha. If this indeed represents a syllabic character, it provides another late appearance of the Cypriot syllabic script, and, according to the excavators, it could have a talismanic or magical function: Connelly and Plantzos 2006, 277; Connelly 2007a, 47.

439 Connelly and Plantzos 2006, 269–277.

440 Connelly 2007a, 48–49; 2009b, 81–86.

441 Furthermore, there is evidence that Cleopatra associated herself also with Aphrodite, the 'goddess of Cyprus': for further discussion see Marquaille 2001, 205 and the following chapter in this monograph.

442 Connelly 2009b, 71.

of the Hellenistic period, when Cypriot culture underwent various transformation processes. The Ptolemies, through a system of politico-religious ideology, are very well-known for their policy of respecting and promoting indigenous religious practices. As with Egypt, where established traditions are well-respected, the small sanctuary of Geronisos might represent the old Cypriot tradition of placing boys under the care of divine merged with Ptolemaic cult interests and ideology.[443] The healing aspect of interpretation should probably be further addressed if we consider the divine attributes of the Ptolemies as saviour gods and their relation to Isis, as discussed in the case of Soloi-Cholades. Finally, the interpretation recently put forward by Baurain,[444] linking Cypriot 'temple-boys' with the royal ideology of the *Basileis* of Salamis, remains attractive. While in Egypt the Ptolemies built the legitimation of their power in traditional religious symbols related to the Pharaohs (in that case Horus and Isis), in a Cypriot context we can note, or at least put forward, the existence of similar mechanisms and patterns.

Towards a More Unified Space: The Voice of Epigraphy and Religious Iconography

The case of Kafizin has directed us towards the role of various associations in the management of cult and their association with Ptolemaic ideology. Further epigraphic evidence seems to shed more light on the character of Ptolemaic state ideology in Cyprus. Particularly in Hellenistic II period, state ideology appears to be closely connected with ritual events, supported by state institutions and groups such as the gymnasia and theatres, the *Basilistai* and the various *thiasoi* and *koina*. The manipulation of the ceremonial system was clearly an important source of power. Specialised roles, such that of the High-Priest, attributed to the *Strategos* in the late third/early second century BC, specialised priesthoods coming from the circle of the kings' friends, and symbolic associations of the kings with some deities, create a politico-religious space shaped by various power relations (chs 3.2.3, 3.3.5 and 4.4.3). These types of symbols, however, may have had high intrinsic worth based primarily on their ideological context. Such politico-religious roles, military and religious organisations and other civic institutions should be seen as key to the creation and perpetuation of state ideology.[445] Let us,

443 Connelly 2007a, 49.
444 Baurain 2008.
445 Shipley 2000, 133–140, 163.

however, consider more closely some of these Hellenistic politico-religious institutions and associations on the island.

Mitford,[446] for the area of Mesaoria in general, and Hermary,[447] specifically for the area of Golgoi, address the issue of how military Ptolemaic settlers and their descendants[448] formed religious *thiasoi* devoted to different divinities. According to Mitford, these *thiasoi* were religious associations maintained among these settlers explicitly "to foster corporate life and a Ptolemaic patriotism" in the Cypriot rural areas of the Mesaoria.[449] The *thiasoi* are foreign to the epigraphy of the larger cities of the island. It should therefore be considered how the gymnasia and other institutions, as the various *koina* and *Basilistai*, better known from epigraphic evidence, served the same functions and were associated with a unifying royal ideology and Ptolemaic cult.[450]

The gymnasium, a place of public assembly and of various celebrations, was a focal civic point for all cultural, social and political life for both local population and settlers, but it was also a point of convergence of the royal cult.[451] Based on epigraphic and in some instances archaeological evidence, it could be argued that within the second, or by the first century BC the latest, the gymnasium existed in the most important of the Hellenistic Cypriot cities, namely Nea Paphos, Salamis, Kition, Amathous, and probably Kourion, Marion-Arsinoe and Chytroi.[452] *Gymnasiarchoi* were of the highest officials in Ptolemaic Cyprus. They were charged with the general supervision of the gymnasium in their city and were therefore very influential persons. In order to understand the importance of this title, we only need to consider that other, higher officials, amongst them the *Strategos-Archiereus*, aspired to have the title of *gymnasiarchos* being mentioned side by side with their other titles. Therefore, it can be argued that the function of this title was part of a broader political mechanism. Epigraphic evidence suggests that religious values were highly preserved in the gymnasia. In the framework of Ptolemaic ideology, it is also interesting to mention that athletic games,

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446 Mitford 1961b, 119–120, no. 19, 134–136, no. 35, 141–142, no. 39.

447 Hermary 2004, 54–55.

448 On Ptolemaic garrisons and their commanders in possessions outside Egypt see Bagnall 1976, 220–224.

449 Mitford 1961b, 120.

450 Anastassiades 2003b, 116–118; cf. Bagnall 1976, 48–49.

451 On the role of the gymnasium see Ballet 1999, 217–218; Shipley 2000, 86–87; Marquaille 2001, 275–283; Chamoux 2003, 293–298.

452 Bagnall 1976, 57–73; Hadjistephanou, C.C. 1991, 45; Vanderstar 1995, 88; Mehl 2000, 708, note 90; Anastassiades 2003b, 116.

part of these festivals associated with the Ptolemaic cult, generated other titles such as the *agonothetes* and *labadarchos*, both of which are attested in Cyprus.[453]

Mitford, adopting Launey's interpretation of the gymnasia[454]—mostly for the case of Egypt—as a means for soldiers to preserve their families' hellenic culture in the face of an overwhelming present native one, has argued that there is little doubt that the members of the gymnasium were predominantly military.[455] However, Bagnall has persuasively argued that gymnasia were not only or primarily for members of the Ptolemaic garrison, but provided a common ground for soldiers and citizens to share religious and educational traditions; nonetheless, the function of gymnasia in Cyprus should not be considered in the same way as in Egypt, as the island was already a part of the Hellenic world.[456] Gymnasia, along with temples and theatres, should be viewed as the main places where Ptolemaic power display and propaganda, in the form of ideology, were practiced and manifested. Contributions to and from the public in the form of *choregiai*,[457] the employment of natives in the gymnasia for the operation of arenas and baths,[458] are all part of this politico-religious agenda. The Cypriot epigraphic evidence clearly states that the gymnasium served as a place for the city and individuals to present their loyalty to the king and participate in the ruler cult. In a second century BC inscription from Chytroi for instance, Ptolemy VI *Philometor* and Cleopatra II appear as deities of the gymnasium; this inscription shows that ceremonies, such as the celebration of the birthday of the king were organised in the gymnasium.[459] Additionally, at Salamis and Kition, for instance, statues of Ptolemaic kings are attested.[460] The gymnasium, therefore, clearly formed an important link between the local population and the Ptolemaic correspondents on the island.[461]

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453 Mehl 2000, 706.

454 Launey 1987, 813.

455 Mitford 1971, 101–102; Walbank (1993, 64) also argues that "Greekness expressed itself primarily through the gymnasium".

456 Bagnall 1976, 237–238. Variation according to locality and time in the use and function of the *gymnasium* is also demonstrated throughout the most recent edited volume on the subject by Kah and Scholz (2004).

457 Mitford 1961a, 6; Hadjistephanou C.C. 1991; Mehl 2000, 706–710.

458 Mehl 2000, 723–724.

459 Mitford 1961b, 129–131; Launey 1987, 853.

460 Nicolaou 1969, 86; Pouilloux 1971; Mitford and Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1974, 13–16, nos 3–4.

461 Młynarczyk 1990, 112.

The most important bearer of a unifying ideology, however, should have been played by the *Koinon Kyprion* (Union of Cypriots). Whether the fact that the term *Koinon* is accompanied by the word 'Cypriots' in the genitive—which actively incorporates local elites and non-elites—instead of 'Cyprus', should be regarded as part of this politico-religious agenda remains only a literary speculation. Although the *Koinon Kyprion* is an institution characteristic of the Roman era, it is also mentioned in two inscriptions of the late Hellenistic period.[462] In Hellenistic II period, and most probably during the end of the second/early first centuries BC, the dynastic cult becomes the religious focus of that *Koinon*, which also seems to be related with the existence of innumerable minor unions—probably similar to the Kafizin one—which were characteristic of this period.[463]

It should be noted that the inscriptions from Cyprus related to these *koina*, as a rule, seem to record compliments to the governors and their relations, and never directly to the Ptolemaic royal house (Appendix 2: table 1).[464] Furthermore, there was a guild of *Basilistai* (constituted of mercenaries or veterans in Ptolemaic service),[465] which in Cyprus, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, must have been involved with the promotion of the dynastic cult in the cities.[466] Although the position of the *Koinon Kyprion* and the *Basilistai* in the ruler cult is undisputed, our knowledge regarding their function in the cult-practice is less clear.[467] If we consider the importance that the *Koinon Kyprion* acquires during the Roman period, we can probably assume the central role that this institution played in unifying Ptolemaic ideology. All the Cypriot cities participated in this institution, which was responsible for the organisation of various religious festivities and the honouring of various public benefactors, as the epigraphic evidence informs us. Additionally, through this, the province of Cyprus could show its loyalty to the Emperor. The *Koinon Kyprion* also had the right to mint copper coins to serve as change for the imperial coinage in more precious metals.[468] Through their everyday use, coins can be one of the best ways for a state to promote political agendas and ideologies. Their

462 Mitford 1961a, 37, 39.
463 Hill 1940, 185; Mitford 1953b, 167; Mehl 2000, 742–743.
464 Hill 1940, 185.
465 Launey 1987, 1026–1031.
466 Mitford 1961a, 39; 1961b 120, note 114; Marquaille 2001, 283–284.
467 Anastassiades 2001, 230; 2003a, 50.
468 Michaelides 1990a, 120.

circulation throughout Cyprus and the participation of all cities in the activities of this institution must have generated a feeling of inclusion in that system of power.

A similar religious function should have been exercised by the *koinon ton peri ton Dionyson techniton* (guild of the Dionysiac artists), consisting of travelling artists organising theatrical performances who enjoyed the protection of rich patrons and even the kings; in Paphos, for example, we find the divine *Euergetai* combined with the god Dionysus as the objects of worship by the union.[469] Dionysus himself was regarded by the Ptolemies as the protector of their dynasty.[470] Therefore, the development of a new urban foundation in Cyprus, namely the theatre, should be assigned to the same context of Ptolemaic agency and ideology. The theatrical performances of the Hellenistic period are both epigraphically and textually securely attested.[471] While the architecture of the Kourion theatre indicates a probable construction during the second century BC,[472] the theatres of Soloi[473] and Salamis,[474] as far as I can ascertain, have not revealed any Hellenistic evidence.[475] However, the remains of the Hellenistic theatre at Phabrika Hill at Nea Paphos provide adequate evidence to date its foundation to the third century BC.[476] Actors and patrons of the theatre at the Hellenistic period were associated with the *koinon* of the Dionysiac artists of Cyprus. This powerful guild is attested by inscriptions probably connected with the dynastic cult and in dedications from the *technitai* of Dionysos.[477] As Anastassiades emphasises, the Ptolemies relied not only their officers, but also on the Dionysiac artists, who maintained direct relationships with high-ranking officers of the Ptolemaic court on the island.[478] The strong presence of those artists, as attested by the Cypriot epigraphic evidence, starts in the second century BC, and this might mirror the strong growth of the royal cult at the same time.[479]

469 Hill 1940, 185; Młynarczyk 1990, 138–142; Marquaille 2001, 285–287; Anastassiades 2009c.
470 Tondriau 1950.
471 *AKEP* 4(1): 236–241; Hadjistephanou 2000, 1006–1008.
472 Tatton-Brown 1990b, 104.
473 *SCE* 3: 581.
474 Karageorghis 1969, 193–195.
475 The case of Amathous is problematic. No excavated evidence exists, but a semicircular shape on the ground might reveal such evidence; see Aupert 1980, 224.
476 Młynarczyk 1990, 214–216; Green and Stennett 2002; Green 2007.
477 Młynarczyk 1990, 140, 217; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 231; Anastassiades 2003a, 50; 2009c.
478 Anastassiades 2009c, 200.
479 Marquaille 2001, 286; Anastassiades 2009c, 200.

To move from epigraphy, studies on religious iconography could also further clarify the picture of a more unified Hellenistic sacred landscape. Instructive for a common religious ideology is the study of Counts on the merging of the cult and iconography of Cypriot-Heracles and Zeus-Ammon with that of Pan in the Mesaoria plain (see above).[480] Counts proves not only a similar conception of religious ideology between the various city-kingdoms during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, but also a more unified religious system during the Hellenistic period. The common cultural and religious tradition found in the eastern Mesaoria might result from a more unified political system established already in the Cypro-Classical period.[481] What is of more interest in our discussion is that during the late fourth century BC it seems that the image of Pan systematically replaces images of the two other gods, merging elements of their cults. In the Hellenistic period, the cult of the Nymph or Nymphs and its relation with that of Pan is well-known from other areas in the Mediterranean.[482] In Cyprus, however, there is no such evidence.[483] It is also known that one of the mythic ancestors of the Ptolemies was Heracles. The Ptolemies also associated themselves both with Ammon and Pan.[484] Although questions not only about pre-hellenistic royal ideology,[485] but also about Ptolemaic ideology in relation to the cult of Heracles and Ammon (eventually to be assimilated with Pan) and its probable relation to the cult of the Nymph and that of Pan should indeed be raised, at this stage we can only resort to speculation. The significance of certain divine types characteristic of sanctuaries in central/eastern Cyprus (the Mesaoria), such as Pyla or Athienou-Malloura to name only a few, however, should further be explicated. It is possible that divine types, commonly identified as 'Artemis' and 'Pan',[486] played an important role in the construction of royal ideology. In other words, the sudden multiplication of these types (especially Pan) in the early Hellenistic period,

480 Counts 2004; 2008, 18–23; 2010.
481 Satraki 2012, 246.
482 Mitford 1980, 169, 261.
483 Mitford 1980, 261.
484 Hölbl 2001, 93.
485 As seen in chapter 3, an important series of Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical limestone and terracotta sculptures probably represent 'priests' wearing animal masks, primarily of bulls but with at least one lion; as Counts (2008, 19) notes, also connecting this phenomenon with the Late Cypriot context, this might suggest that "the concept lingered as part of ritual practice well into the first millennium BCE, when the statues of the 'Master of the Lion' became popular offerings".
486 Flourentzos 1989; Counts and Toumazou 2003; Counts 2004; 2008.

with the incorporation of the island into Ptolemaic rule could be linked to the Ptolemaic agency and manipulation of divine imagery. We will further analyse issues of religious iconography in the context of the following chapter.

Résumé of the Hellenistic Sacred Landscapes

In keeping with the long-term perspective that this project undertakes, it seems that in order to better appreciate the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, one has to venture as late as the Roman sacred landscapes. As far as I can ascertain, only a few scholars have so far paid attention to the fact that by the Roman period many Iron Age extra-urban sanctuaries were deserted and only a few sanctuaries remodelled and enlarged; such statements, however, have been made within the context either of specific votive categories (i.e. Roman sculpture)[487] or of more general discussions,[488] and therefore, their importance has usually escaped attention. Some of those sanctuaries, such as that of Apollo at Kourion and Aphrodite at Amathous, also received monumental podium temples. While excavation and survey activities confirm that *ex novo* foundation of sanctuaries is very rare in the Roman period,[489] the use of pre-existing extra-urban sanctuary sites is visibly reduced. I would, therefore, rethink the statement of Wright that "the rural sanctuaries remained the dominant type of religious premises in Cyprus until the end of paganism".[490] Only 40 possible sanctuary sites (including urban and extra-urban) provide probable evidence of cult in the Roman period, and these sites include important 'time-honoured' sanctuaries in the direct environ of urban centres, such as the sanctuaries of Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion, of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos and Amathous and of Zeus at Salamis; in some instances, as the well-documented site of Amathous reveals, we might have the construction of new podium temples within the core of the urban centre, i.e. the agora (Appendix 1: table 4). It seems that the Romans invested in rebuilding and temple constructions, usually at those same primarily urban sites as their Ptolemaic predecessors.

To sum up my point regarding the Hellenistic sacred landscapes: a process of ancient official neglect of the extra-urban sacred space may signal a fundamental (though slow and usually non-violent) transformation in the

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487 i.e. Senff 1989, 190.
488 i.e. Tatton-Brown 2000a, 341.
489 Also confirmed by Given and Knapp 2003, 313.
490 Wright 1992a, 274.

social perception of the lands. After the end of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, many extra-urban sanctuaries could be greatly appealed to and depended upon the local extra-urban population.[491] While in Hellenistic I, we note a great continuity of cult in many extra-urban sanctuaries, in Hellenistic II, when a unified administrative system is crystallised, many extra-urban sanctuaries are eventually abandoned. As far as can be determined, in the Roman period, the great majority of Hellenistic extra-urban sanctuaries are 'dead'. When the social memories, elite or non-elite, or socio-political forces that kept them alive 'die', they 'die' with them.

As Alcock observes in the case of the Hellenistic and Roman sacred landscapes of Greece,[492] the Cypriot evidence reconfirms that what usually distinguishes the surviving sites is what the defunct sites lacked: political scale and significance, and as the final catalogue of Roman sites reveals, this is not to say that extra-urban sanctuaries did not exist anymore. Over time, however, they started to become 'insignificant' at the wider community level. The annexation and 'provincialisation' of Cyprus, with all the consequent developments, were accompanied by changes in memorial patterns, with less focus on regional or local structures, and more intense emphasis on stressing an ideology which created a more widely recognisable 'pan-Cypriot' myth-history, which was eventually related to the Ptolemaic, and later to the imperial Roman cult and ideology. By the Roman period, what we have so far called 'extra-urban' sanctuaries, eventually become 'rural', i.e. primarily the concern of local audiences with more modest activities and less monumental or 'precious' votives. The urbanisation of the Hellenistic and Roman periods might have acted as a catalyst for the decline of these extra-urban sanctuaries. However, a glance at the various survey reports reveals a 'full' Hellenistic and Roman extra-urban settlement landscape. Of course, more research on settlement patterns needs to be done, but urbanisation is not the only reason for the abandonment of these sanctuaries.

On the other hand (and here is where the realm of ancient perception is more clearly indicated) 'time-honoured' sanctuaries, particularly that of Palaipaphos, which becomes the centre of Ptolemaic and later of imperial Roman cult, were associated with mythic or legendary events and,

[491] The presence of settlers in the Cypriot Hellenistic *chora* and in inland extra-urban sanctuaries, however, is attested on sites such as Idalion, Golgoi, Pyla and possibly Kafizin, where there is evidence for the presence of *thiasoi* or economic patterns of Ptolemaic administration.

[492] Alcock 1994b, 259.

therefore, with civic memory and identity. The official interest is directed towards urban, mainly coastal sanctuaries.[493] While memories provide continuous modifications to landscapes, there may be ideological attempts to provide 'stability' or 'perceptual' and 'cognitive fixity' in some places, in order to reproduce sets of dominant meanings, understandings, representations and images.[494] Myth and local traditions played an important role within Hellenistic politics and society: comparative evidence suggests that the expansion of the world in the 'Hellenistic present' resulted in a re-ordering of the past.[495] The epigraphic evidence has clearly shown that urban-based elites—mainly settlers, but also with some sparse evidence for locals in the case of Cyprus[496]—presented themselves as the chief arbiters of stability or transformation (see above and Appendix 2: table 1). They appear as benefactors honouring statues, paying for the upkeep of temples, financing festivals, and holding priesthoods and other civil ranks. The city, however, is not isolated from all of this, but purposely integrated, mainly in forms of group financing or actively participating in cult activity. Therefore, larger, mainly urban or peri-urban, more renowned 'higher status' sanctuaries were more intensively called to play a role in this political and social theatre. Thus, attention to those sanctuaries was particularly manifested by Ptolemies and their attendants, and later by the Romans, in order to more clearly define, construct and transmit their power.

Specific sanctuaries around the Mediterranean were great centres of influence and wealth; the donations that Hellenistic monarchs made to various festivals and the fact that many of the Hellenistic settlements were built at or near such major religious centres attest to that.[497] Anastassiades clearly explains how Palaipaphos played an important role within the Ptolemaic religious landscape, not only in a Cypriot context, but also at a pan-Mediterranean level; this sanctuary recalls the relationships of the dynasty with other Mediterranean sacred centres, such as those of Memphis, Delos, Kos or Cyrene, where the 'time-honoured' sacred spaces and local cults were used as a means for the establishment of the Ptolemaic royal cult; Ptolemies, therefore, drawing on the existing religious sentiment

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493 Later textual evidence and ethnographic analogy confirms such a statement, and relates landscapes to myth (see ch. 3.3.5 for further discussion).

494 Tilley 1994, 27–28.

495 Scheer 2003, 231.

496 i.e. Dionysios, Potamon and Onesandros; see Mehl 2000, 691–692.

497 Cohen 1995, 65–66.

and cult, managed to promote their political agendas and ideologies.[498] With the abolition of the city-kingdoms, Palaipaphos clearly becomes a sanctuary town, a pilgrimage centre primarily of pan-Cypriot and then of pan-Mediterranean character.[499] This is too obvious reason why the best corpus of evidence related to Ptolemaic ruler cult comes from this sanctuary (Appendix 2: table 1). Nonetheless, not only the architecture of the sanctuary remains close to the traditional Cypriot temenos from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Roman period, but also the cult statue of the goddess keeps the aniconic shape of a *baetyl*. The depiction of the tripartite sanctuary with the *baetyl* on the Roman coins of Cyprus underlines the significance of these traditions, up to a later imperial context. Such continuities should be viewed in relation to both the local cultural identity and the character of politico-religious agency and ideology, which through various accommodations seem to transform and/or reproduce the established socio-cultural norms, rather than changing them. While the role of the long-standing sanctuaries of Palaipaphos and Amathous will be discussed below (chs 3 and 4), the role of other major sanctuaries, such as that of Salamis and Kourion in relation to socio-political identities should also be underlined.[500]

2.5. Concluding Remarks on the Cypriot Sacred Landscapes of the Transition

An effort to treat archaeological landscapes as something dynamic and not static, as 'palimpsests of past activity'[501] which incorporate political and social action has been made. It seems that a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research agenda, which seeks to 'read' social power from landscapes, acknowledging at the same time their complexities, is our only investigative way forward. Although one has to take into account the work that has been done in other areas of the Mediterranean with which Cyprus interacts, it seems that it is time to turn to the dynamics of the island itself, and only then try to apply core-periphery models and comparisons with other areas of the Levant or the Aegean.

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498 Anastassiades 2001a.

499 Maier 2007.

500 Yon 1980 for Salamis and the probable associations of the city-kingdom *Basileus* with Zeus; Buitron-Oliver 1997, 38 for Kourion where there is evidence "for a desire for some kind of continuity with the Bronze Age on the part of the founders of the sanctuary ...".

501 Bender 1993.

In this chapter, sanctuaries have been perceived as instrumental within a power system, which provides information on how ideas and goods are communicated and transmitted. It is important to appreciate that landscapes are managed by people, families or communities, whose management and agency influence the dynamics of landscapes, just as landscapes themselves influence people. The understanding of this parameter of landscapes implies the understanding of their complexity, allowing multiplicity and diversity in their interpretation. I hope that it has already become clear that strong continuities, as well as strong transformations exist. Through the medium of sacred landscapes, we have been able to follow how 'construction of continuity', rather than abandonment, can accommodate change. It was indeed through the very agency of religion that the various sociocultural and politico-economic boundaries began to be transformed. The dynamic two-ways processes of interaction between landscape and people seem to have played an important role in this transformation of political, cultural and personal identities.

To use Alcock's terminology as a means of conclusion,[502] I hope to have shown that the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* is also marked by the transition from 'full' to 'half-full' and later, 'half-empty' sacred landscapes (Appendix 1: chart 1). I have argued that the only way to interpret the transition of these landscapes is by not remaining narrowly fixed on the 'froth on the crest of the waves' of the end of fourth/beginning of third century BC, but by placing them within their individual macro-history, which takes into consideration the full length of the first millennium BC, or even the late second millennium BC, when it comes to 'time-honoured' 'high-status' sanctuaries as that of Palaipaphos. Examining various intra-island landscapes together, through long chronological spans of time, bringing to attention their dynamics, and how settlement and land-use may have changed through time in response to a range of political, economic and social variables, has proved a promising tool for analysing the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*.

Even when trying to examine the possible role of sanctuaries as 'frontiers' during the era of the city-kingdoms, we are forced to search for diachronic values and even to penetrate into the Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Roman landscapes. The study of Cypriot sacred landscapes within the lenses of their *longue durée*, their transformations and their possible change of

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502 Alcock 1994b, 260–261.

meanings, has successfully reinforced the interpretation of Fourrier that the extra-urban sanctuaries played an important role in the political setting of the city-kingdoms, which was transformed through time. Issues related to the various 'regional styles' placed across the holistic concept of sacred landscapes, have been addressed, not in an effort to undermine their existence, but instead in an effort to enrich how we look at the material and achieve a better understanding of 'style' and its complexities. 'Regional styles' definitely exist but they do not necessarily signify ethnicities or political boundaries. Instead, they should be seen in the context of various socio-political and economic influences and perceived in relation to peoples' life as experience.

Moving from the period of many independent *Basileis* to the island-wide rule of the *Strategos*, we have addressed issues of Hellenistic 'urbanisation', settlement patterns, social memory and politico-religious ideology in order to better comprehend a more unified socio-political sacred space. In the Hellenistic II period the Ptolemaic government must have had interest in asserting its control on the island more effectively, as can be deduced from the epigraphic record related to various administrative functions (e.g. the role of the *Strategos*), the various associations and Ptolemaic attendants on the island, the building of public amenities such as gymnasia, and the transfer of the capital to Nea Paphos. In a new unified political organisation, extra-urban sanctuaries eventually lost their original political significance.

Such a generic analysis, which seeks to interpret the sacred landscapes of the whole island, instead of examining analytically isolated sites or landscapes, runs the danger of presenting schematically a reality which bypasses the variability and complexity of the real phenomena. The ritual environment of a single city could be analysed more fully and therefore supply further information on these issues. These thoughts will further be illuminated through our case studies and the study of 'portraiture', where changes of cult, cult participants or votive practices will be examined.

CHAPTER THREE

CASE STUDIES: CHANGE AND VARIATION

3.1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to shift the mode of enquiry from the broader concept of landscape studies to the analysis of more specified and unitary loci. The case studies that will be presented, Soloi and Amathous, have been selected following extensive bibliographical survey of all the excavated sanctuaries on the island. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that what applies to individual case studies is definitely not a rule for the whole island. It should be expected that each individual site would have its own particularities. Given's study, although very optimistic in articulating the social meanings of symbols during the era of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, has clearly shown that each polity, "while taking part in the same general cultural system, had differences in the way in which that system was manifested".[1] Consequently, in the same way, variations in the incorporation of each site into the Hellenistic *koine* should be expected.

It can easily be inferred that the main concern of this chapter is not to cover the whole island, nor to create a general theory about Cypriot cults and how they change from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, but instead to investigate the process by which individual sites were incorporated into the greater dissemination and development of the Ptolemaic 'sphere of interest'. Thus, our primary task is to approach politico-religious ideological processes and structures of symbolism rather than to fully comprehend the content of the cults. Both change and variation should be expected to be involved in these processes.

Efforts to explore the complexity of symbolic composition in the way in which the ancient Cypriots constructed their world have been made by some scholars.[2] It should, however, be stressed from the beginning that I remain sceptical about the possibilities of fully comprehending and reconstructing ancient 'irrational' and complex cognitive systems, symbols and

[1] Given 1991, 188; cf. Smith 2009, 256–257.
[2] e.g. Sophocleous 1985a, 91–96; 1987; Given 1991.

religious behaviour on the basis of material remains. Nonetheless—keeping in line with the theoretical framework of this monograph—the influence of mythology, the emotional and sensory elements, as well as the blending and fusion of religions and political ideologies are highly estimated and appreciated.

The various 'syncretisms' or 'assimilations' that the Cypriot cults underwent through time from *Basileis* to *Strategos* will therefore not be fully addressed. As it is impossible to go through a meticulous reanalysis of every piece of evidence, one has to rely on the specialised analysis and interpretation made by other scholars.[3] Based on the existing studies, however, the impact of divine associations and cultural translations on the blending of religious and political ideologies—and consequently on the multi-layered and multi-interacting socio-cultural matrix of Iron Age Cyprus—will be projected. The notion of Hellenistic 'syncretism' itself derives from the political model of Hellenistic period as a mixture of cultures and people.[4] Although in religious studies the word 'syncretism' is problematic insofar as it describes the influences of one religion upon another,[5] it will be used here as having the connotations of "parallelism, interaction and identification, all of which have been identified as different forms of 'syncretism' in their own right rather than as features of something else".[6] 'Religious transformations' are not, therefore, regarded simply as a matter of ideological arguments, of images and messages, but of a reformation of the existing religious sentiment and values.

Religious temporality encapsulates a significance which goes beyond practical reality and linear time.[7] Consequently as 'religious syncretism' allows the continuation of the old and the new together, it can also emerge as a practical mechanism for reconciling time.[8] This chapter, therefore, based on the cults of Soloi and Amathous, aims to engage with the trans-

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[3] Iacovou 2007c, 2.

[4] Martin 1987, 10–11.

[5] cf. Pakkanen 1996; Budin 2004, 97–102.

[6] Potter 2003, 419. The term 'syncretism' is here undervalued by Potter; as he argues, "the forms of interaction are so varied as to make the term virtually meaningless". Additionally, Martin (1987, 156–157) discussing the term 'syncretism' notes that while it vividly describes a Hellenistic religion in transformation, it does not suffice as an explanation of the transformations themselves. The Hellenistic religious transformations have to be explained beyond cultural interaction, military conquest and cultural imposition.

[7] Insoll 2004, 129.

[8] Insoll 2004, 131.

formation processes of religious, cultural and political identities, moving indeed across the full spectrum of the first millennium BC and even the Late Bronze Age and early Roman period when deemed necessary. As shown below, both of the sites offer sufficient architectural, iconographic and indirect mythological evidence to interpret patterns of 'cultic theatre' and 'ritual drama'.[9]

The criteria for the selection of the area of Amathous as a case study are continuity, context and publication. As a surviving centre from the period of the city-kingdoms to the Late Roman (Early Byzantine) period, and as the subject of several recent and forthcoming publications, it is a good place to examine the character of change and variation from *Basileis* to *Strategos*. The opportunity to search for the involvement of social power in sacred space, and the interplay of sacred and secular, is facilitated by the recovery and study of, on the one hand, pre-Roman strata of the temenos of Aphrodite, a place of public worship, and, on the other, of 'palatial' structures and sanctuaries, places of ritual display of administrative pre-Hellenistic power. In addition, the study of the so-called 'subterranean cult place' could add a new dimension to the study of Cypriot cult in relation to the questions that have been posed regarding politico-religious ideologies and the so-called Hellenistic *koine*.

At Soloi, by contrast, the level of excavations does not allow the study of the direct interaction between secular and sacred to the same level as the Amathous case. A newly founded sacred space, however, dating to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, namely the site of Soloi-Cholades, provides a good opportunity to search for new elements in the Cypriot archaeology of cult and religion and to examine how they might be connected to social power.

The data from each site will briefly be listed and then, in each case, we will move to discussion and interpretation of the evidence through the particular theoretical and methodological lenses of social power and the archaeology of religion. The chronological order will be reversed, so as to proceed from the purely Hellenistic cultic material of Soloi, to the long-standing Cypriot cultural and religious material of Amathous and its involvement in the so-called Hellenistic *koine*. It is hoped that in this way, the evidence from the two sites can better be synthesised at the end of this chapter.

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9 Nielsen 2002.

3.2. Soloi

The region of Soloi, on the northwestern shore of the island, overlooks the western edge of the Morphou Bay. It also has direct access to the Mesaoria plain and the mountains of Troodos. Although the site of Soloi, known to have functioned as the urban capital centre of a city-kingdom, is of great archaeological importance, the interruption of the excavations after the 1974 Turkish invasion does not allow a complete understanding of its history and archaeological landscape.[10]

3.2.1. *History of Research and Topography*

In the middle of the 19th century, Le Bas and Waddington mentioned that there were important remains at Soloi and that the site should be excavated. A little later, Luigi Palma di Cesnola found the site of the theatre and did some work in the area, while he also 'excavated' some tombs. However, as de Gagniers states, considerable looting must have taken place between Le Bas and Waddington's visit in 1843 and Hogarth's visit in 1888, since the latter saw no single spot where somebody could excavate with profit. The explanation that was given is that the ancient buildings had been quarried and reused in Morphou and Lefka.[11]

The site was not properly excavated until the coming of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1926.[12] The Swedes managed to trace a major part of the so-called 'acropolis' wall and the harbour installations. At the top of the 'acropolis' they found the remains of a very poorly preserved Hellenistic or Roman temple, and a little lower, they properly excavated the Roman theatre, which was then rebuilt by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities. In fact, the Swedes did their most intensive work west of the city itself, at the temples found on the neighboring hill of Cholades, which is the focus of this chapter.[13] The Swedes also excavated the Cypro-Archaic to Hellenistic sanctuary site of Mersinaki, which lies between the hills below Vouni and west of Soloi.[14]

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10 For a plan with the general topography of Soloi as described below see des Gagniers 1975, 217, fig. 1.
11 For the 19th century AD 'explorations' at Soloi see des Gagniers 1975, 215.
12 *SCE* 3: 399–582.
13 *SCE* 3: 416–547; Westholm 1936.
14 *SCE* 3: 340–398.

From 1964 until 1975, Laval University of Quebec in Canada undertook systematic excavations in the area.[15] Inside the wall, they partially excavated some Cypro-Archaic buildings, a Cypro-Classical so-called public building, some Hellenistic installations, a Roman house, a Roman *Nymphaeum* and other elements of the Roman urban centre, such as pavements, streets, the agora and a Christian basilica. At the very top of the 'acropolis' they also partially excavated a Hellenistic building, which unjustifiably, considering the minor scale of excavation, has been called the 'Hellenistic palace'. Outside the wall, south of the 'acropolis', they excavated part of the necropolis which revealed tombs dating from Cypro-Geometric to Christian times.

In 1967 the Cypriot Department of Antiquities also excavated some Hellenistic tombs.[16] Additionally, in 1972 the Department of Antiquities excavated some early Cypro-Geometric tombs that supply evidence for the earliest development of the city-kingdom.[17]

3.2.2. *The Temples at Cholades*

The temples at Cholades have been located and also published in detail by Westholm of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.[18] A large complex composed of temples in continuous use between about 250 BC and the fourth century AD has been excavated (fig. 2). The temples are not visible nowadays, as they have been reburied after the excavation.[19] Although the long-term perspective is of great importance to this analysis, focus is placed on the finds related to the first four temples which are of direct chronological interest to this work. The finds from the later temples, however, could be discussed as the 'aftermath' of this process. The following description and interpretation is based on the work of Westholm.

Even if architectural influences from various areas of the Mediterranean are evident,[20] the temples consisted of a relatively large open courtyard with one or more covered rooms on one side and altars, thus resembling a type of the well-known traditional Cypriot temenos. It should be stated that several walls had been decorated with wall paintings, a very rare phenomenon for Cypriot sanctuary architecture, as far as can be ascertained from the various

15 des Gagniers and Tinh 1985; des Gagniers 1985; Ginouvès 1989.
16 Christodoulou 1970.
17 Christou 1973.
18 Westholm 1936.
19 Curnow 2004, 22; Karageorghis J. 2005, 70.
20 Westholm 1936, 153–184.

published reports.[21] Although the paintings were not well preserved, they seem to represent vertical and horizontal lines in red, blue or black and green, forming a pattern of large squares.[22] The finds include pottery (Black and Red Lustrous, Black and Red Matt, Black Polished, White Painted, White Slip Grooved, Plain White and Coarse Ware), marble and limestone sculptures, terracottas (mainly of the Tanagra style), inscriptions, coins, lamps, loom-weights and some other minor objects.

With regard to the chronological sequence of the various constructions we have to, broadly speaking, follow Westholm's latest interpretation, which even himself accepts that is not unproblematic.[23] Let us simply consider that this entire complex was excavated over a single field-season of four months.[24] Even if the Swedish Cyprus Expedition essentially established Cypriot archaeology as a discipline, as explained in previous chapters, the archaeological practice of the early 20th century confines our potential in understanding the past. Additionally, Westholm's chronologies and identifications of temples are highly based on style and comparisons with other areas of the Mediterranean, something which again, as maintained throughout this work, is highly problematic. Temple A must be the first building (fig. 3), followed by temples B and C built above (fig. 4). Temples B and C were probably constructed at about the same time as temple D (fig. 5). Based on chronology, temples A, B, C and D are those directly related to the present study. After the destruction of temple D follows an intermediate period which, according to Westholm, makes the supposition necessary of a comparatively long time before the construction of temple E. The development of the cult for the first two centuries AD cannot be clearly followed based on the existing archaeological evidence. Temple E was also altered and provided with some additions through time. At this time of alterations, the construction of the so-called temple F next to the temple E, and some alterations in temples B and C are also noted.[25]

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21 As far as can be ascertained, the only other excavated sanctuary where wall-paintings have been preserved is the case of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Morphou, very close to Soloi-Cholades, both geographically and chronologically: see Nicolaou, K. 1963, 16–19, fig. 5.

22 Westholm 1936, 25.

23 Westholm 1936, 1–2. For earlier chronologies of the sequence of the temples see preliminary reports: Westholm 1932, particularly 174, 186; 1933, particularly 211–215.

24 Westholm 1936, 8.

25 For architectural plans of these late periods see Westholm 1936, 91–92, figs 55, 57, 59–62.

For the absolute chronology, Westholm uses the coins that were found in the temples, regarding them as fixed points. In summing up the results of this investigation, he concludes that temple A was probably constructed during the reign of Ptolemy *Philadelphus* or slightly later. The courtyard of this temple was destroyed and altered later than 95 BC, or shortly after the reign of Ptolemy *Auletes* in the middle of the first century BC. Then, temples B, C and D were constructed. Temple D was probably demolished at the end of the first century AD. Temple E was constructed most probably in the middle of the third century AD, not earlier than the period of Severus Alexander, and subsequently altered in the Constantinian era when temples B and C were also partly altered and the so-called temple F was constructed. As the coins indicate, the entire site was abandoned at the end of the Constantinian era.

In general, the objects were found roughly in three ways. 1. Mere stray finds lying accidentally in the various strata without definite connection with these, or with architectural monuments. 2. Objects, especially sculpture, which evidently were reused for a secondary purpose, therefore providing valuable evidence for relative dating. 3. Objects which were discovered more or less *in situ*. While only occasionally could their exact, original position be ascertained, careful examination of the stratification and style usually gave evidence for a reasonable suggestion as to their contexts. According to Westholm, it may be suggested that the sculptures were probably placed on the altars inside the *cellae*, for viewing and display. This would explain their great size. In no case, however, can the same arrangement be observed in regard to the altars located outside, in the courtyards.[26] Sculpture provides the best evidence for the identification of cults and provides information which is directly related to the research questions of this project. As there is a distinct difference between sculptures of style I and II, Westholm suggests that the styles are also chronologically separated. Westholm, based on style, has proposed a way in which the sculptures were connected with the various temples and periods (fig. 6).

With regard to the marble sculptures, two groups have been distinguished, which show minor stylistic, as well as technical, differences.[27] They are both highly influenced by the so called Hellenistic cultural *koine*, standing well beyond the Cypriot sculptural tradition, in material, style and technique. The sculptures of limestone show a great variation in styles. Four

26 Westholm 1936, 139.
27 Westholm 1936, 129–130.

main groups or styles have been distinguished. The first, the nature of which has been described as more or less naturalistic, has been seen as dependent on Greek Hellenistic sculptural styles. Since comparatively few close relations to other countries are found for the subsequent styles, these were considered to be of a local Cypriot character. The whole limestone series, however, was treated by Westholm as being representative at various stages of development of one and same local sculptural tradition.[28]

It seems that it was very hard to ascribe the sculptures securely to temples A and B. In the *cella*, room V—common both to the period of temples A and B—some sculptural fragments were found near the altar. However, there are no signs of a destruction of the *cella*. Most of the marble sculptures belonging to that group had already been broken and mended in ancient times. As Westholm argues, whether this happened in the workshop as a consequence of the artist's bad technique or of little acquaintance with marble as a material, remains uncertain. It may, however, also be suggested that the sculptures, broken during the first period (temple A), were mended for the second period (temple B). In the excavator's interpretation this indicates that this material was considered so unusual and valuable, that had to be preserved from one generation to another.[29] The main argument for the attribution of the marble sculpture to the period of temple A is a stylistic one. Nonetheless, according to Westholm, the evidence from Cholades is so convincing that even if comparisons with foreign Hellenistic sculptures were disregarded, the sculptures should still be ascribed to a period prior to the building of temple B.[30] Based on the contextual (stratigraphic and ideological) evidence, I am also inclined to agree with the excavator. Several limestone sculptures of styles I A and B had been reused as building material in the walls of temple B. Thus, they cannot be connected with the sculptures placed in that temple.

The sculptures which were originally made for temples B, C and D were those of style II A and B. Westholm has seen as mere chance the fact that none of them were found in temple B and only a few of them in temple C, in close connection with the *cella*.[31] In addition, remains of a large group of sculptures, some of which were found lying without order on the floor

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[28] Westholm 1936, 130–133.
[29] Westholm 1936, 139.
[30] Westholm 1996, 143.
[31] Westholm 1936, 140–141, 143–144.

of room XXXIV at temple E, and others among the fallen stones from the walls, are of the same style as those of temple C. As many of them had mortar adhering to them and one piece was found *in situ* in the wall, it is certain that they were reused as building stone for the construction of temple E. Westholm, based on the location of the reused sculptures and the fact that temple C does not show any sign that it was destroyed and deprived of its sculptures, tends to assign that group to temple D, which was situated just below temple E.

Chronologically, style III should be associated with temple E. All the sculptures of this style were found more or less *in situ* in the *cellae* of that temple. The sculptures of style IV were found mixed with those of style III and could be distinguished only on stylistic grounds. Style IV, therefore, constitutes the last sculptures of the whole series and should be connected with the last building period, characterised by the alterations in temples B, C and E and the construction of the so-called temple F. However, no sculptures could directly be connected with the latter.

Before proceeding to further interpretation related to those sculptures, it should clearly be reiterated that the chronology of the Cypriot sculpture, and particularly that of the Hellenistic period, remains far from well-established (chs 1.3 and 4.4). As Vessberg notes, the sculpture in the 'entire Hellenistic cultural sphere' is so varied and lacking in uniformity throughout the first century BC when very different styles exist side by side, that it is extremely difficult to delimit the sculptural material that belongs to that period.[32] Thus, any dating based on style remains tentative, and it is difficult to recognise or separate the late Hellenistic from the early Roman Cypriot sculptures; this is the case for many of the sculptures discussed below. More importantly, Westholm dates the construction of temples B, C and D after 50 BC, i.e. during the period when Cyprus was the 'pawn' between Ptolemies and Rome (see the Epilogue). The sculptures of style II A and B (i.e. those of temples B, C and D) are therefore placed within the second half of the first century BC and the early first century AD.[33] Nonetheless, in keeping with the non-linear concept of time that this project takes (i.e. moving beyond 'artificial' chronological periods), they will be discussed within the context of long-term processes and developments.

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32 *SCE* 4(3): 94.

33 cf. Dikaios 1961, 123–125.

3.2.3. *'Revisiting' Soloi-Cholades: 'Syncretism' of Cults, Power and Ideology*

Based on Westholm's interpretation of the identification of cults for the aforementioned temples, the site can be 'revisited' in an attempt to discuss the existing evidence in terms of religious 'syncretism', Ptolemaic power and ideology. As Westholms points out,[34] he was primarily concerned with questions dealing with *history of art*, when publishing the material from Cholades; while an attempt to discuss the *history of religion* was made in volume four of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, a new 'reading' of the archaeological evidence under this direction can prove to be crucial in our understanding of the site and its importance in a Cypriot Hellenistic context. The identification of the cults has been attributed by means of inscriptions and sculptures found in the temples, or related with them, as established above. In addition, some later textual evidence has been used.[35] Nonetheless, this identification of cults remains tentative, and as seen below, more deities might have been worshiped in each temple. Additionally, as further explained in the Amathous section, the distinction between divine and human figures is not always a simple question due to the fact that worshippers and priesthood usually present themselves as the divine. Naming the sculptures below, therefore, is usually conventional. What is important to our discussion is not necessarily the identification of the specific sculpture as a divine figure; instead the existence of divine iconography related to a particular deity implies the existence of the specific cult.

Identification of Cults

If the suggestion that at least a number of the marble sculptures of styles I A and B originally belonged to temple A is accepted, then the temple should mainly be associated with the cult of Aphrodite.[36] A number of sculptures have been interpreted by Westholm as fragments of statues representing that goddess, amongst them standard Hellenistic sculptural types of her image: a female head in white marble (fig. 7), a naked torso in white marble broken at the hips, upper arms, and neck (fig. 8), a statuette of nude Aphrodite in white marble (fig. 9), and a marble torso of a nude statuette

34 Westholm 1936, 2.

35 Westholm 1936, 149–153.

36 Hermary (2009, 170–172) in his recent review of the Cholades marble sculpture also tends to date them to the Hellenistic period, although with some reservation.

probably representing Aphrodite in arms (fig. 10).[37] As Smith argues, naked Aphrodites were perhaps the most striking and important addition to the regular output of divine statuary in the Hellenistic period.[38] The large, heavily damaged female head of white marble (fig. 11), can probably also be identified as Aphrodite, according to Westholm. Among the marble sculptures, another statuette with a missing head (fig. 12) which most probably represents Aphrodite, has escaped the attention of the excavator, probably because the goddess appears dressed.[39] The statuette stands on a comparatively large base with the right leg bent across the left, on which she stands, leaning against a square pillar with a moulded edge. A similar type was created around 300 BC and it is very common in Rhodes and Attica. It is also very well attested in Cypriot votive terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous (fig. 48).[40] According to Vermeule, such marble statues were very popular in Alexandria, which would have provided Cyprus with images of Aphrodite.[41] Furthermore, when it comes to limestone sculptures, Westholm also states the possibility that some other statues, mainly heads with a ribbon or a wreath could represent Aphrodite.[42] While a detailed discussion in relation to the ribbons and wreath will be made later in the 'portraits' chapter, these examples should be kept in mind, since they will contribute to the discussion below. Finally, a head wearing a *polos* might also be connected with an early image of the goddess (or a female figure related to the cult of the goddess), as further discussed in the

37 Hadjioannou 1981; 2000, 886. Hadjioannou is most probably right when dating this statue to the Roman period, arguing that both this sculpture, and a very similar one found by the Polish Archaeological Expedition to Nea Paphos (Daszewski 1976, 220–221) belong to the armed (*Egcheios*) Aphrodite type mentioned by Hesychius. According to Hadjioannou, it is quite certain that both sculptures represented the goddess as having a sword in her raised right hand. This is attested by the remaining part of the handle of the sword in the palm of her right hand in the Nea Paphos statue, and by the sword-belt in both sculptures; cf. *AKEP* 3(2): 64, no. 93. For a debate on *Egcheios* Aphrodite see Daszewski 1982 and Hadjioannou and Daszewski 1983. Although the theme of armed Aphrodite is by no means unique to Cyprus, the island furnishes at least two more representations other than these two sculptural examples: one from a Roman mosaic floor at Nea Paphos (Daszewski 1994, 107) and another on a mirror found in relation to a Roman burial at Nea Paphos (Michaelides 2000). For the military prowess of Aphrodite see Serwint 2002, 337–343.

38 Smith 1991, 79; cf. Hales 2002.

39 This sculpture has later been attributed to Artemis by Vessberg: *SCE* 4: 92–93.

40 Queyrel 1988, 36.

41 Vermeule 1976, 51.

42 i.e. finds 413, 502, 518 and 519; while heads 413, 502 and 518 have a ribbon, 519 has a wreath; 413 and 518 are directly referred by Westholm as 'probably representing Aphrodite', while 502 and 519 are referred to as similar to 518.

Amathous section.[43] The cult of Aphrodite in Temple A is reinforced by the presence of Eros. Three marble pieces evidently constitute parts of the same statue of a winged, mourning Eros, holding his torch turned down (fig. 13). The most popular myth identifies Eros as the son of Aphrodite and Hermes or Ares. Elsewhere, he was considered to be a god born directly from primitive Chaos and always remained a fundamental world force, ensuring the continuity of the species and the internal cohesion of the cosmos.

The cult of Cybele might also be attested in temple A. A statuette of soft limestone representing a female interpreted as the goddess sitting on a throne supported by two lions was found (fig. 14). She is holding a large *tympanon* in her left hand and her right arm rests on the head of the lion. Another hard limestone statuette interpreted as Cybele standing in an unusual upright position on a small base between two seated lions and holding a small *tympanon* in front of her breast was also uncovered (fig. 15). To start to address more emphatically issues regarding the involvement of Cyprus in the broader artistic, cultural and religious so-called Hellenistic Mediterranean *koine*, it should be said that the latter statuette has been discussed by Vermeule as demonstrating "the strength and subtlety of early Hellenistic Cypriot art of a purely ideal nature, within pan-Mediterranean concepts".[44] The quality has been seen as high, combining at its best the use of Hellenistic decorative terms and local materials. "The small statue gives an excellent interpretation of the progressive and the traditional as applied to the sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus, the works of art created in local materials".[45]

The interpretation that all these sculptures were transferred from temple A to temple B, in spite of the long time which elapsed between the two, might also indicate that the same deities were worshiped in temple B. Temple A, in other words, built in the middle of the third century BC, was replaced by the double temple of Aphrodite and Isis sometime in the first century BC. This might also be supported by textual evidence. Strabo (14.6), who may have visited Cyprus at the end of the first century BC, mentions a sanctuary sacred to Aphrodite and Isis, but he does not give any detailed particulars as to its place in relation with the town. At that time, however, temples B and C, had already replaced temple A, and it is therefore reasonable to identify them with those mentioned by Strabo. In this context, it has to be said that Isis, who has many similar qualities to Aphrodite, had already

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43 Westholm 1996, pl. IX, no. 443.
44 Vermeule 1976, 54.
45 Vermeule 1976, 54.

been associated with Aphrodite in Alexandria by the third century BC,[46] thus making the interpretation of the Soloi cults even more comprehensive. In a later text (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.5) Isis referring to Lucius says that the Cypriots call her Paphian Venus. Additionally, epigraphic and iconographic evidence from Delos, for instance, link the images of the two goddesses.[47] Isis and Aphrodite, however, as the archaeological evidence from Cyprus suggests, are usually simply associated and not fully 'syncretised'. Since Aphrodite attracted similar categories of worshippers, one could justifiably assume the possibility that Isiac cult occasionally embraced at least some of her characteristics and, in some cases, eventually even dominated,[48] as the late evidence from Athens,[49] and the Roman Cholades might suggest.

The identification of temple C is entirely reliant upon the sculptures. A limestone statuette (fig. 16), found just outside the *cella* of temple C, has been interpreted as related to the myth of Isis and Osiris recorded from Plutarch (*Moralia* 5. *De Iside et Osiride*). There are no attributes indicating the divine nature of the statuette. Isis is identified on account of her attitude and the drapery of her dress which is gathered in over her breast with folds hanging down like fringes.[50] According to the myth, Typhon (or Set), Osiris' evil brother, conspired against him. After deceiving him, he managed to shut him in a trunk and threw it into the Nile. When the goddess heard of her husband's fate, she cut off a lock of her hair and put on mourning garments. Then learning that the trunk had been cast up at Byblos on a tree, which was used as a pillar in the king's palace, Isis went there. She finally found the trunk, opened it and mournfully caressed the body of Osiris. The body was soon found by Typhon who cut it into fourteen parts and scattered them everywhere. All but the genitals were eventually found by Isis, who used her magic to bring Osiris back to life. Subsequently, Osiris came from the underworld and sought his revenge through Horus, his son from Isis. In the battle with Typhon, Horus won. The statuette from Soloi, according to Westholm, represents the mourning Isis, kneeling on the drum of the column that contains the remains of her husband.

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46 Dunand 1973a, 80–85. For the relationship between Aphrodite and Isis in the 'Graeco-Roman' period cf. Daszewski 1989; Budin 2004, 130–131.

47 Dunand 1973b, 110–113, pl. XXXII; Walters 1988, 15.

48 Marquaille 2001, 221.

49 Walker 1979, 248.

50 Westholm 1936, 200.

The presence of Isis in the temples at Cholades is also attested by another head in limestone the hairstyle of which is arranged in the characteristic Isiac locks while at the top, part of the crescent is visible (fig. 17). The head could represent Isis herself or a female as Isis. More discussion about this head will follow; for the moment, however, it should be said that Vessberg also dates this head to the late Hellenistic period.[51] Finally, a head in hard limestone interpreted as Isis wearing a crown with a crescent was found (fig. 18).[52] Additionally, most of the sculptures of style II to which the so-called mourning Isis (fig. 16) has been ascribed proved to be fragments of statues related to Isiac iconography. As already established, it is not very clear whether these sculptures belonging to Style II come from temple C or D. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether the cult of Isis should be ascribed to one of those temples or to both of them. The most recent architectural analysis by Kleibl, based on parallels from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, might confirm the practice of Isiac cult in temple D.[53]

Since the material attributed to temple E is definitely of later Roman date, it will not be discussed here in detail. It should be mentioned, however, that temple E supplies sufficient iconographic evidence related to the cult of Sarapis,[54] the Dioscuri,[55] Osiris-Canopus,[56] the snake god Agathos Daimon, who is sometimes associated with Sarapis and Isis,[57] and the mourning Eros,[58] all deities that should be connected with chthonic elements, as discussed below. Additionally, another fourth century AD limestone statue from that temple has been associated with the cult of Isis (probably the Isis herself), the symbolisms of which, based on its clothing decoration, point strongly to her role a goddess of death and the after-life.[59] As further analysed below, the cultic material related to this temple, including a siren and dog heads interpreted as belonging to a Cerberus, if compared with

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51 *SCE* 4(3): 93.

52 This sculpture, for instance, has been regarded by Dikaios (1961, 124) as belonging to the first century BC and by Vessberg (*SCE* 4(3): 90) as belonging to the first century AD. Considering the problems regarding the chronology of the late Hellenistic and early Roman sculptures, the exact chronology of that sculpture, as others from Cholades, remains very tentative.

53 Kleibl 2007, 133–137.

54 Westholm 1936, pls XVIII, XIX, no. 318.

55 Westholm 1936, pl. XIX, nos 316, 334.

56 Westholm 1936, pl. XXIII, no. 329.

57 Westholm 1936, pl. XX, no. 335.

58 Westholm 1936, pl. XX, no. 407.

59 Westholm 1936, 212–214, pls XXI–XXII, no. 319; Anastassiades 2001b; 2009a, 146.

evidence found elsewhere, e.g. Delos, Alexandria or Gortyn, clearly supports the idea that we are dealing with a *Sarapeum*. In addition, epigraphic (find 322) and later textual (*Vita Sancti Auxibii*) sources provide evidence for the cult of Zeus in the temple. As neither sculptures nor inscriptions were found in the so-called temple F, nothing can be stated with certainty. Nevertheless, after a comparative architectural study the temple was attributed possibly to Mithras. Kleibl, however, basing her case on an architectural analysis of the building, has recently argued that the so-called temple F was in fact a banquet-hall (a usual feature of the 'Graeco-Egyptian' sanctuaries),[60] probably thus enhancing the argument for the specialised chthonic nature of the Soloi cults.

From the above summary of cults, as identified by Westholm—at least in his last and most concrete effort to identify the cults—and in opposition with his earlier reports, we can conclude that the cult of Isis was introduced quite late at Cholades. While, as outlined below, such an interpretation remains open to discussion, the cult of Isis in the very early temple at Cholades could also be argued by the presence of a female sculpted figure of style I B in hard limestone,[61] concealing her hand within her clothes, a hieratic position related to the cult of Isis as seen when discussing the Amathous figurines. Nonetheless, what is definite is that at least by the late Hellenistic/early Roman period the cults of three female divinities—Aphrodite, Cybele, and Isis—seem to have been 'syncretised' at Cholades. Some of their more distinct common qualities are fertility but also protection of the deceased. In Westholm's interpretation, there was a fusion between the Anatolian goddess Cybele who was usually called *Mater Oreia* (of the mountains), and Aphrodite, who on a Roman inscription found in the sanctuary, is also called Aphrodite *Oreia*. An inscription and possibly a sculpture from the temple of 'Astarte-Aphrodite' at Tamassos, might also relate the Phrygian goddess with the Cypriot one, already by the fifth century BC.[62] In light of this evidence, should we accept Westholm's identification of the above sculptures with Cybele or should we (in accordance with the evidence regarding the image of the 'Cypriot Goddess' discussed in detail in the Amathous section) leave open the possibility that this is the image of the 'Cypriot Goddess' associated with Cybele and her iconography?

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60 Kleibl 2006, 86; 2007, 145–149.
61 Westholm 1936, pl. XIII, no. 439.
62 Anastassiades 1995, 230–231.

If we move the marble series later than the limestone ones representing Cybele, this could indeed be a case. Nonetheless, such an interpretation could only be supported by a single comparative evidence found in Tamassos.

If we accept Westholm's chronologies Aphrodite, Isis, and Cybele, as Anastassiades also emphasises, kept their iconographic identity and it is therefore difficult to define whether a pure 'syncretism' or identification existed between these divinities, or rather a close association.[63] The worship of Isis 'syncretised' with that of Cybele can be attested during the Hellenistic period at Alexandria. During the second half of the second century BC a new priesthood occurred, that of the 'Sacred Foal' of Isis, the great 'Mother of Gods'. According to Fraser, some attributes of Cybele, the 'Mother of Gods' *par excellence*,[64] were possibly adopted by Isis.[65] While the cult of Cybele certainly originates in Asia Minor, further elements of it may have arrived in Cyprus via Alexandria along with other cults and sculptural types.[66]

I would however be very reluctant to accept the proposition of Nicolaou that the cult of Cybele, most probably did not find any response among the Cypriots and was mainly confined to a milieu of foreigners, probably mercenaries or merchants, who venerated their homeland gods in sanctuaries of local deities with similar qualities.[67] Elsewhere, the same author confidently argues that, generally speaking, the worship of 'oriental' divinities "did not make much headway against the Cypriot traditionalism and conservatism, and that the Cypriots on the whole persisted in their allegiance to their own ancestral gods".[68] While the perspective of religious 'conservatism' will be touched upon in the portraits chapter below, the discussion of Amathous in the following section will show that the existing evidence does not allow such a clear dichotomy between local and foreign practice in cult. On the other hand, the theoretical conception of this monograph aims to move beyond such dichotomies and such a static role attributed to religion. Once localised goddesses (such as Isis and Cybele) became sympathetically associated with one another through their com-

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63 Anastassiades 2009a, 146.
64 Borgeaud 2004.
65 Fraser 1972, 221.
66 Westholm 1936, 198.
67 Nicolaou 1979, 177.
68 Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1978, 800.

mon antithesis to the ambiguous character and malicious rule of Tyche, participating in common structures and soteriological concerns of 'internationalised' and 'universalised' 'syncretistic' cultural systems.[69] The associations of these goddesses with Aphrodite, the 'Cypriot Goddess' *par excellence* as developed already by a Cypro-Classical context, is completely understandable.

As the Ptolemies projected themselves as symbolically offering salvation and general protection, soteriological elements of the Soloi cults are important to the construction of our argument regarding the relationship between religious 'syncretism', Ptolemaic power and ideology. As Chaniotis puts it "what places the kings on the same level with gods is the protection they offer … the power to offer protection is an essential feature of the king's mortal divinity".[70] In this context it has to be said that 'the embodiment of the chthonic spirit' swept the Hellenistic world and chthonic religions, as they offered a more direct relationship between the divine and its human suppliant, becoming particularly popular in the Mediterranean basin.[71] Divinities offering protection, guidance and salvation "can effect a transformation of existence by offering a religious alternative to a dangerous and chaotic world".[72]

Aphrodite and Isis both lament the death of their loved ones, the first for Adonis, the latter for Osiris. The fact that the Cholades Eros is holding a torch attributes funereal significance to him and associates the god with the myth which identifies him as the son of Aphrodite.[73] According to the myth, Psyche, the wife of Eros, was punished by Aphrodite for transgressing her promise of never seeing the face of Eros, by giving her tasks in the underworld. In the end she was rescued by Eros and she was reconciled with Aphrodite. The well-known tale of Eros and Psyche lies at the very centre of the novel 'The Golden Ass' cited by the philosopher Apuleius, which reflects better than anything else the general religious sentiment of the period and the role of Isis as *Soteira* (Saviour); a comparison with the myth of Aphrodite, Eros and Psyche can easily be made with the wandering of Lucius, the protagonist of the story and his final salvation offered by

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69 Martin 1987, 84; Shipley (2000, 173–175) disagrees with Martin and aims to undermine the role of Tyche during the Hellenistic period.

70 Chaniotis 2003, 433.

71 Martin 1987, 8–10.

72 Martin 1987, 25.

73 On the funereal significance of Eros see Bosnakis 2009.

Isis.[74] Iconographic elements from Cholades have already pointed to the fact that Isis was probably connected there with the underworld. In this respect, Isis promises a blessed existence under the providential guidance and protection of the revealed power of Tyche *Agathe*, Good Fortune (in opposition to the malicious one), one of her early and persistent epithets, and also a happy afterlife to the deceased.[75] In a Hellenistic context, she is also clearly associated with the myth of Demeter and Persephone, the former searching for her daughter as Isis did for Osiris, and the latter being regarded as the mistress of the underworld, who reigned in the darkness of Hades.[76] Evidence that these myths were known on the island by the Hellenistic period might be offered by the Vitsada limestone altar or base.[77] The subject depicted on this relief appears to be the rape of Persephone in the presence of four divinities, Athena, Aphrodite, Demeter and Artemis, and possibly the votary's wife.

In Hellenistic II period, the provision of a water supply may offer additional support for the chthonic dimension of the Soloi cults. Channel installations related to the temples of Aphrodite and Isis carried water to two large interconnected basins at the southeast corner of temples B and C (Cisterns 169 and 170).[78] Water is very closely associated with ideas of life, and hence has therapeutic associations beyond simple biological necessity.[79] As seen in the Amathous section, water played a particular importance in Cypriot religion from the Bronze Age, and particularly in the cult of Aphrodite.[80] Water also had a prominent role in the cult of Isis and Sarapis and was associated with hopes for life beyond the grave.[81] They both became

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[74] Martin 1987, 16–19. For problems on the date of the original story see Walsh 1994, xix–xxi and Whitmarsh 2008, 5.

[75] Martin 1987, 77.

[76] Martin 1987, 78–79. According to Plutarch's account of the origins of Isis' mysteries, Ptolemy I was assisted in his Sarapis project by Timotheus of a priestly family from Eleusis. The cult was apparently influenced by the Eleusinian mysteries.

[77] *SCE* 4(3): 95–96, pl. XIII; Cassimatis 1976; Vermeule 1976, 54–55.

[78] Westholm 1936, 64; Wild 1981, 14–16. Interestingly, the aforementioned sanctuary of Aphrodite at Morphou (see above: footnote 21) where wall-paintings similar to those at Cholades have been found, has similar architectural elements to Soloi, and particularly similar cisterns and water installations: see Nicolaou, K. 1963, 20–24.

[79] Horden and Purcell 2000, 421.

[80] Water is important in the majority of cults, but in the ancient Greek and Mediterranean world, perhaps was more notable in those of female deities, and was particularly associated with ritual purification in mystery cults: see Cole 1988; for the importance of water in ancient Greek world, and particularly its therapeutic connotations see Ginouvès et al. 1994.

[81] Wild 1981.

saviour gods, but the diffusion of Isis' cult was definitely more successful. The belief that immortality could be attained through the Isiac religion was the most persistent of its doctrines. This is why permanent water installations found all over the Mediterranean in sanctuaries dedicated to Sarapis and/or Isis proved to be of considerable importance.[82]

The presence of Osiris in the form of a Canopic jar, although associated with temple E and therefore clearly with the Roman period, also points in this direction, as the god was a symbol of resurrection. The remaining sculpturally attested deities of temple E, Sarapis, the Dioscuri and mourning Eros, are also all connected with chthonic elements. The presence of chthonic beasts like sphinxes and sirens among the finds (both of Hellenistic and Roman chronology) also point in that direction. The practice of their cult in the Roman period, in a sacred place founded during the Hellenistic era, should definitely be put in the context of the long-term perspective. An early Roman inscription found in the field just south of the excavated area at Cholades, probably used as a tomb-stone, might confirm contemporary ideas related to death. The reader is asked to be happy, and not sad, for nobody is immortal.[83] It is also interesting to note that the existence of a direct association between Osiris and the Cypriot 'Bes' has been suggested in a pre-Hellenistic Cypriot context.[84]

At this point it should be noted that Mitford has criticised the chronology of the Soloi temples, as suggested by Westholm, which was based on stratigraphic (i.e. ceramic and numismatic), as well as stylistic and literary evidence. While Mitford agrees with the chronology of the first period of activity at Cholades, he has serious objections to the chronologies of all the subsequent periods. His main objection is that "these are precisely the times when the island's condition was one of wretchedness and uncertainty".[85] This, according to Mitford, is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence, which from the interval between *Soter* II and Augustus in Cyprus is almost non-existent. Mitford is sceptical of Westholm's chronology, for this would imply that Soloi chose to build itself three new temples "with the fortunes of the island at their lowest ebb".[86] He therefore, proposes a revised chronology, based on some fragments of inscriptions.

82 Wild 1981, 163–166.
83 *SCE* 3: 630–631.
84 Petit 2004a; 2006b, 72–76.
85 Mitford 1950b, 36, note 1.
86 Mitford 1950b, 36, note 1.

According to Westholm, as those inscriptions were not associated with any building, the interpretation of Mitford is weak and is directly contradicted by the circumstances of the excavation.[87] In that case, indeed, I would be more inclined to accept the excavator's interpretation, which is based on numismatic evidence. I would add that ritual display and erection of public buildings, such as temples, is not always connected with wealth and power. In addition, such expressions can also be related to the loss of power. Institutions which lose their political importance often invest in ritual display which is used to give an impression of power.[88] Such a perspective is indeed in line with the political environment and instability of the late Ptolemaic period, which is contemporary with the construction of temples B, C and D. As further discussed below, if we accept Westholm's chronologies, the construction of temples B, C and D coincide with the unrest political environment of Cleopatra's VII reign, when Cyprus was the battleground between the Ptolemies and the Romans. The iconography that the queen adopts during that period can be perfectly explained as an expression related to the loss of Ptolemaic power and the influence of Rome.[89]

Furthermore, in keeping with the argument described above, Mitford fails to see why Isis and Sarapis, essentially Ptolemaic deities directly connected with the ruler cult, should wait until late in the Hellenistic and/or Roman period before their worship was established at Soloi. Details of Isiac cult have already been discussed, and are further analysed below and in the Amathous section. Sarapis was a Hellenistic creation god, amalgamating Apis-Osiris and Pluto. From a Greek point of view, he was the Hellenistic consort of Isis. His cult was reshaped into a 'national' cult under the Ptolemies as the result of a vision of Ptolemy I and was intensively used in the promotion of the Ptolemaic ruler cult.[90] Although, as it seems, the Ptolemies failed to disseminate the cult of Sarapis outside Egypt, (something which is also valid for the case of Cyprus), Soloi is one of the sites that supplies some evidence for its existence in Cyprus.[91] Although the last *Basileus* of Salamis, Nikokreon's, well-known enquiry as to the nature of Sarapis and an oracle given to him by Sarapis himself (Macrobius, *Satur-*

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87 *SCE* 4(3): 2, note 1.

88 Linders 1996.

89 Anastassiades 2009b, 264–268.

90 Fraser 1960; 1972, 246–250; Dunand 1973a, 45–66; Kahil 1996, 73; Shipley 2000, 165–166; Potter 2003, 412; Pfeiffer 2008.

91 For a review on the existence of Sarapis cult in Cyprus see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1978, 797–798.

nalia 1.20.16 f.) coincides with the period of the creation of Sarapis, it should be stated that this is a very late and therefore problematic Latin text. It is important to note, however, that textual and epigraphic evidence support an early introduction of the Sarapis cult in Salamis and Soloi; while we have secure evidence that the *Basileus* of Salamis survived and collaborated with the Ptolemies during the early stages of the Hellenistic period, the *Basileus* Eunostos of Soloi, as explained below, probably retained his kingdom for a few years after the final domination of Ptolemies on the island.

Two inscriptions from Cholades itself (finds 409 and 428), however, which have been dated by Mitford to the beginning of the third century BC, make mention of this god.[92] One of these inscriptions (find 409), found reused in a wall of temple F, concerns the construction of a sanctuary to Priapus a deity of secondary importance but also related to the Ptolemaic court,[93] built at the order of Sarapis (*Sarapios prostagma*). This, according to Mitford, implies that a temple and oracle of Sarapis were already in existence. Westholm on the other hand, fails to see how Mitford could use these inscriptions for dating and interpretation regarding the cult both of Isis and Sarapis, as they were found in debris made up from the destroyed walls, and therefore they could have been brought from structures outside the excavated area. He concludes that the construction of a Sarapis temple in the third century AD, although clearly dated by the stratigraphic evidence, does not necessarily show that this cult was introduced at that time, but only that the cult survived as late as that.

Indeed, although I would suggest that those reused inscriptions should be seen as coming from the site itself, and therefore that the cult of Sarapis should be ascribed to Cholades already by the third century BC, it is not necessary to engage with this argument, since the introduction of a cult should not necessarily be connected with the construction of a temple. In other words, a cult for Sarapis at the site should not necessarily equal the construction of a temple dedicated to him. As in Amathous, where this suggestion is confirmed by epigraphic evidence, Isis, Sarapis and Aphrodite, as well as members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, could indeed be worshipped within the same temple, as temple-sharing gods (*synnaoi theoi*). Outside Cyprus, one could turn to Gortyn at Crete, for instance, where a temple to Sarapis and Isis, with architectural and iconographic elements similar to

92 *SCE* 3: 625–626.

93 Rice 1983, 107–108.

that of Cholades, has been found:[94] a hall with a tripartite podium, a lustral basin, and the statues of Sarapis with Cerberus, Isis and a statue interpreted as Hermes-Anubis. While the building is dated to the first/second centuries AD, the cult of the deities is epigraphically attested in Gortyn from at least the second century BC. Any further interpretation regarding the Sarapis cult at Soloi during the Hellenistic period remains highly speculative. The same applies to the following discussion regarding a possible presence of Sarapis in the Hellenistic sculptural series of Cholades.

In conclusion, alongside the stylistic information that the site of Soloi-Cholades supplies about the involvement of Cyprus in the so-called Hellenistic artistic *koine*, it also provides important information about the involvement of the island in the broader religious *koine*. It is true that in order to extract the longer-term development of the site, we are highly dependent on the Roman evidence. While I totally recognise that we should be aware of possible problems arising when one relies too heavily on Roman evidence, at the same time, considering the earlier discussion for the use of a less linear time, given the nature of phenomena under investigation,[95] i.e. religious practices and *mentalités*, Braudel's work can help us be more flexible with chronological refinements. Pursuing the use of the Roman cults at Soloi as a window onto the long-term picture, it should be stated that Sarapis and the Dioscuri, and Eros and Osiris, the former directly and the latter through associations with Aphrodite and Isis, are all originally connected with the propagation of Ptolemaic cult and ideology. This issue will be further explored in the Amathous section. For the moment, it only needs to be considered that the Ptolemies promoted themselves mainly as saviour and benefactor gods. The meanings and associations of those cults should therefore, similarly, be seen in the long-term context.

Isis leads us to the question of the existence of mystery cults in the site. The 'universalisation' of this very important aspect of Hellenistic religion has usually been attributed to the reduced power of the city-states and to the decline in people's confidence in their traditional cults.[96] Mystery cults were primarily related to personal needs in this life and the next and the promise of thrilling revelations.[97] Mystery religions have sometimes

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94 di Vita and Rizzo 1985, 55–56.
95 Smith 1992, 29.
96 Martin 1987, 58–59; Walbank 1993, 218.
97 Burkert 1987.

mistakenly been related to lower classes of population,[98] something which actually enforces our argument regarding the relationship between soteriological elements of religion, power and ideology. Cults offering protection, salvation and guidance became much more widespread during the Hellenistic world where the increased mobility of people and new philosophical tendencies might have contributed to a sense of rootlessness, inconstancy and flux, or/and greater flexibility.[99] Epigraphic and textual evidence from other areas of the Mediterranean (i.e. Greece, Asia Minor, Italy) mention a large number of titles held by the devotees, reflecting certain duties in the ritual.[100] In Cyprus there is no direct evidence regarding this aspect of the Isiac cult. It has therefore been suggested that this is probably partly explained by the fact that "mystery religions correspond to a more personal religious sentiment or faith, a characteristic of complex societies and not of smaller conservative social groups".[101] The absence of such epigraphic evidence, the limited presence of Isis on the island, and the fact that in Cyprus the goddess was worshipped as *synnaos* (temple-sharing god), has led Anastassiades to argue that she was perceived and worshipped mainly as a fertility goddess, in contrast with other Mediterranean areas.[102]

The *cliché* 'absence of evidence is not evidence' should be kept in mind, particularly considering the problem of the archaeological visibility of the period in Cyprus. While idiosyncrasies of the cult in local contexts should indeed be appreciated, one should not devalue the complexity of the Isis cult and persona in a Cypriot context. In the Hellenistic world, there was a shift from an emphasis on fertility towards various other aspects of Isiac religion. Isis was the universal 'Mother of All Things', as the 'Lunar Queen of Heaven'.[103] More specialised work needs to be done on the Hellenistic epigraphy of Cyprus.

An inscription, found at Soloi-Cholades—most probably of Hellenistic date—for instance, has been interpreted as a hymn to Aphrodite; in another inscription, probably in relation to that one, the word *Tyche*, one of the main epithets of Isis, is confined.[104] Most recently, based on the phrase

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98 Westholm 1936, 217.
99 Miller-Ammerman 1990, 39.
100 Dunand 1973c, 287–319.
101 Anastassiades 2009, 150.
102 Anastassiades 2000, 196; 2009a, 150.
103 Martin 1987, 76.
104 *SCE* 3: 627–630, no. 493.

psyches katharmon (purification of the soul) which is included in the hymn, it has been suggested that the hymn should be connected instead to Isis, who was worshipped in the same temple with Aphrodite.[105] I suggest that the word *epaphr*[*odit* ...] as amended by the Swedes does not allow us to exclude Aphrodite, but based on the *psyches katharmon* phrase, and knowing the syncretism of Aphrodite with Isis at Cholades, we can make a strong case for the possible relation of the inscription with Isiac religion and its incorporation in the Aphrodite temple at Cholades.

The story of Isis' wandering, suffering and final homecoming became a soteriological paradigm offering a transformed life to those willing to follow the spiritual path of her mystery.[106] Her purposes were usually communicated through dreams, through the traditional technique of incubation. In the Isiac mystery ceremonies and the initiation process, the individual should be purified with water and then, like Osiris, 'wander in the underworld'. A series of catechisms and rites had to be followed, amongst others, dietary restrictions, shaving of the head, isolation and a sojourn in the temple for several days. The initiate then proceeded to the 'voluntary death', a kind of ecstasy, followed by his 'resurrection'. It was believed, that this way, the initiate in the Isiac mysteries won a blessed life after death (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11).[107] This information is also confirmed by papyrological and epigraphic evidence, particularly the famous Isis aretalogies.[108]

Architectural elements of the Cholades cults, such as basins and other water installations, the diachronic development of cults and the interpretation of their iconography have put beyond question the chthonic character of the cults, and consequently, might indeed allude to their mystery aspect. The abundance of lamps in the Cholades stratigraphy might be a further indication of evening rituals and, possibly, mystery religions. While lamps are very common finds in Cypriot Iron Age burials, and while some lamps have been found in other Cypriot Iron Age sanctuaries, the number of the Cholades lamps is significantly bigger than most of the other (published) sanctuary sites.[109] One could simply recall the use of lamps in Demeter's mystery cults.[110]

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105 Hadjioannou 2000, 922–923. The name 'Aphrodite' is very partially preserved on this inscription: only the *alpha* and part of the *phi*.

106 Martin 1987, 59.

107 Dunand 1973c, 243; Martin 1987, 78–81.

108 e.g. Grant 1980, 128–334.

109 cf. Westholm 1936, 222–224.

110 Kanta 1993, 109.

In this context, it should be noted that a number of the Cholades sculptures of style II B approach some of the examples found in the temple of Isis in Cyrene; this according to Westholm, could probably be considered as an example of a religious art connected with the mystery temples.[111] Additionally, the cult of Cybele, which is probably attested at the Hellenistic strata of Cholades also has similar soteriology and mystic aspects in the Greek and Roman world; similarly, that of Attis, which might be attested at Amathous.[112] Finally, I would argue that the study of the terracotta figurines related to the Isiac cult in Amathous, where Isis's priests are included, has shown a combination of movement, mental activity, emotion, experience, and communication which verify a more active practice of such a cult (ch. 3.3.5). Sacred dance and ecstatic movement are an integral part of mystery religions.[113] Moreover, by the Hellenistic period Cypriot artistic types had been expanded to include a series of well-defined age-differentiated groups, not only in the terracotta figurines, but also in the limestone sculpture. Such age differentiation may reflect stages of dedication to the god.[114]

All these are important aspects of mystery religions, and probably one should accept that elements of these had reached Cyprus, most likely even before the Hellenistic period, through socio-political and cultural contacts with mainland Greece. The Cypro-Classical cults of Demeter and Persephone and that of Toumballos at Nea Paphos examined below are probable indications of mystery cults. One might seek for comparisons in the interaction between the Demeter and Isis cults in Greece:[115] despite the numerous dissimilarities in the actual practice of the goddesses' cults, the extant evidence argues strongly for the influence of Demeter's cult on that of Isis. Nonetheless it is only in the late Hellenistic/early Roman period that the cult of Isis clearly acquires an initiatory and mystery aspect. In fact, in a Cypriot context, the architecture and iconography at Cholades, suggest a similar interaction between the Aphrodite and the Isis cult: the predominance of Isiac chthonic iconography and the building of the water cisterns take place during the late Hellenistic/early Roman period.

111 Westholm 1936, 204.
112 Sfameni Gasparo 1985.
113 Martin 1987, 61.
114 Connelly 1991, 96.
115 Pakkanen 1996.

Even if the present analysis is primarily based on sculpture and iconography, placing the Cholades sacred architecture in a long-term perspective might provide further evidence for the presence of mystery cults on the site. As Westholm argues, "Temples A–D constitute but stages in the development, fore-runners to the final type, Temple E"; while already in temple D the entrance is flanked by towers, the entrance of Temple E resembles that of Egyptian temples, flanked with pylons, especially as they developed in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, extending out over the width of the temple.[116] Such architectural developments might indeed relate to specialised aspects of the Isiac cult. Additionally, in late antiquity, Christianity was one of the many mystery religions promising soteriology of the soul after death, and the parallels between early tripartite Christian churches and mystery temples of other contemporary religions should probably be addressed. In the temples of Soli, Westholm has indeed demonstrated a remarkable link in the relations between pagan and Christian sacred architecture.[117] Although architectural developments and similarities should primarily be seen in the context of cultural influence and interaction, I totally agree with Westholm that various elements of a mystery religion like Christianity could find parallels among the mystery temples of contemporary pagan religions. Let us only consider the role of Isis, a goddess venerated at Soloi, as a vehicle towards 'henotheism' and christianisation.[118]

Mystery cults are inextricably bound with personal needs, and therefore, divinities worshipped in a search for salvation can take many forms and qualities. One of these, as shown from textual and epigraphic evidence, is also the healing aspect. Sarapis and Isis in particular, specialise in healing.[119] As Diodorus (1.25), for instance, informs us Isis was greatly versed in the science of healing through the practice of incubation. Isiac cult presents remarkable ties to that of Asclepius and incubation was practiced in the sanctuaries of both gods.[120] Another practice connected with Isiac worship is the confession of sins as a prerequisite for healing; as Burkert argues, "this may well have therapeutic effects, as a form of psychoanalysis; it may not necessarily linked to mysteries, however".[121] One should also consider pos-

116 Westholm 1936, 182.
117 Westholm 1936, 184.
118 Martin 1987, 72.
119 Burkert 1987, 15; Chamoux 2003, 339.
120 Burkert 1987, 15. There is also evidence for joint cult of Isis and Asclepius on the south slope of the Athenian acropolis: see Walker 1979, 243–247.
121 Burkert 1987, 16.

sible relationships to earlier Cypriot healing cults; as discussed in the landscapes chapter Cypriot 'temple-boys' might relate to such cults. A 'temple-boy' statuette, associated with temple A, has been found at Cholades.[122] Other heads (e.g. finds 530, 547) could well belong to similar 'temple-boy' statuettes.

Strabo (17.1.17) records that the *Sarapeum* at Canopus was a centre of cures by incubation and by oracles as the oracular role of Sarapis was associated with his role as god of healing. Similar offerings from Alexandria and Delos confirm that those divine qualities were also present in Hellenistic Cyprus.[123] The evidence from the *Sarapea* at Delos, where the cults of Sarapis, Isis and Anubis can be identified, are of particular importance to our argument. The first building most probably took place contemporaneously with the rise of Ptolemaic patronage of the cult of Sarapis in Egypt, although there is no evidence to suggest that the Ptolemies were involved in the establishment of these cults on the island.[124] Additionally, as epigraphy informs us (*IG* 1299), the *Sarapeum* was built by an Apollonios after an order of Sarapis in a dream. While Aphrodite and Cybele, goddesses met at Cholades, also appear as healing deities,[125] three late Hellenistic votive inscriptions from the extra-urban sanctuary of Arsos referring to Isis, Sarapis and Anubis[126] also strengthen the argument for the relation of the Soloi deities with mystic oracles and healing in a Cypriot context. In two of them there is a representation of male genitals, ex-votos also found in Delos, indicating that the three divinities were regarded as healers.[127] The aforementioned inscription which mentions the name of Zeus, also mentions a *chrematismon*, which could be interpreted as a 'divine response'. One is thus confronted with a phrase of the same character as *Sarapios prostagma*, which is met in the aforementioned inscription related to Sarapis, and analogous with the Greek oracles.[128] Also, from the Roman inscription of Aphrodite *Oreia* (find 465),[129] the survival of the role of Hypnos (personified sleep) in the activities of the mystery and healing deities can be suggested. To re-address the problem of mystery cults at Cholades, let us only consider

122 Westholm 1936, pl. X, no. 535.
123 Anastassiades 2009a, 148.
124 Dunand 1973b, 84.
125 *SCE* 3: 627.
126 Masson 1980b.
127 Hermary 1990b, 45–48; Anastassiades 2000, 195.
128 *SCE* 3: 624.
129 *SCE* 3: 626–627.

that the popularity of mysteries in the Hellenistic world developed next to that of oracles.[130]

Ptolemaic Power and Ideology

Let us, however, analyse the actual Hellenistic material from Cholades, which seems to supply a more direct reference to Ptolemaic politico-religious ideology and possibly to ruler cult, which will receive further elaboration when focusing on the Cypriot Hellenistic portrait-like sculptures (ch. 4.2). The associations with various deities that Alexander and the first Ptolemies created will be briefly examined. Then, we will focus on the cult of Ptolemaic queens and their divine associations, as a means for understanding the character of Ptolemaic power and ideology. In light of the evidence analysed below, and as put forward above, it seems that the cults related to temples A, B, C and D were indeed more—and much more complex—than what Westholm and modern scholarship identified.

A unique limestone head of style I B, widely accepted as that of Alexander the Great,[131] represents the first direct component of the Ptolemaic ideology at the site (fig. 19). This statue has been seen as "the surest, firmest iconographic document from Hellenistic Cyprus".[132] Alexander, creating a kind of 'supranational' kingship whose legitimacy rested on military victory and charismatic rule, was among the first Greeks to receive cultic honours.[133] Through an oracle's pronouncement of his mythical descent from an Egyptian god, Amun of Siwah, Alexander managed a convenient union of the Egyptian myth of divine lineage with the Greek idea of descent from Zeus (Zeus-Ammon).[134] A Hellenistic bronze head interpreted as Zeus-Ammon, though not directly from Cholades, has been found in the area of Soloi.[135] It is interesting to note that a god similar to Zeus-Ammon existed in Cyprus, already during the time of the city-kingdoms.[136]

130 Chamoux 2003, 330.

131 A head found recently in Amathous has been interpreted as the second portrait of Alexander the Great found on the island: see Flourentzos 2008. Nonetheless this head has very damaged facial characteristics and its interpretation is problematic. For discussion of the problems of Alexander's iconography see Ridgway 2001, 108–148.

132 Vermeule 1976, 65, note 21.

133 Cultic honours were occasionally given to Greek living individuals even before Alexander, i.e. to the Spartan general Lysander in Samos, later to the Macedonian king Amyntas III in Pydna and to Philip II in Amphipolis: see Habicht 1970; Price 1984, 26–27; Bosworth 1988, 280–281; Walbank 1993, 212–213; Potter 2003, 417; Chaniotis 2003, 434.

134 Hölbl 2001, 78.

135 Dikaios 1961, 146, no. 10; Vermule 1976, 56–57, note 26. Vermeule, however, states the possibility that this statue could also represent Poseidon.

136 Counts 1998, 175–177; 2004; 2009; Kleibl 2010.

Ptolemy I took the decisive step of elevating the dead Alexander to the level of a state god. As Alexander endeavoured to take over the Persian Empire, on which Cyprus was at least in a way dependent, he usually appeared as liberator of the lands and not yet another conqueror. The Cypriots, hoping that in that way they would retain their autonomy, supported Alexander in his campaign and the Cypriot *Basileus* of Soloi, Pasikrates (or Stasikrates),[137] along with Nikokreon of Salamis paid the expenses for the choruses while celebrating the capture of Tyre (Plutarch, *Alexander* 29). His son, Nikokles, according to Arrian (*Indica* 18), was one of the leaders of the Cypriot fleet which was used by Alexander on his expedition to Indus. Among other Cypriot generals who accompanied Alexander was Stasanor from Soloi (Strabo, 14.6.3), possibly a brother of Pasikrates (or Stasikrates). He was later made governor of Aria where he remained after the death of Alexander (Diodorus, 18.3.3–4). Moreover, in the early third century BC, the brother of Ptolemy I, Menelaus, who had already been a '*Strategos*' in Cyprus, held the office of Alexander's priest for the fifth time.[138] Both the Cypriot *Basileis* and Ptolemaic attendants might have acted as agents of Alexander's cult in Cyprus. On the other hand, the introduction of Alexander's figure in a Cypriot limestone tradition might be connected with the direct contact and interaction of local people with that ideology and religious policy.

A marble bearded head of style I A has been interpreted as possibly representing Zeus (fig. 20). The cultic context in which this head was found and comparison with other Cypriot votive sculpture further suggests the identification of this sculpture with a divinity. Its identification as Zeus can be further supported by additional evidence. As discussed, a later marble slab belonging to the base of a statue of Zeus was recovered from the central *cella* of temple E. It is common knowledge that one of the main attributes of Zeus is the eagle. An eagle in hard limestone of the same style as the 'Zeus' head was found in the sanctuary (fig. 21). Additionally, while two votive lamps from Cholades, probably of the first century AD, are decorated with a moulded eagle (finds 351, 353), another one of the same

137 Textual evidence mentions Pasikrates as the *Basileus* of Soloi. This evidence however, which is already very problematic, is contradicted by the epigraphic one. It has therefore been argued that the texts must be emended to read Stasikrates for Pasikrates as the *Basileus* of Soloi during this period: for further discussion see Miller 1988, 154–155 and Stylianou 1989, 111, note 480a.

138 Hölbl 2001, 94.

date has Ganymedes on the back of the eagle (find 370). Nonetheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that this marble head could represent some other deity with similar iconography, such as Asclepius or even Sarapis. If the latter interpretation could further be investigated, this head could significantly add not only to the discussion regarding the cult of Sarapis at the site, but also to the presence of Ptolemaic cult.

However the poor state of preservation of the head does not allow any further elaboration. Later textual evidence supports an association of the Sarapis and Zeus cults at Cholades.[139] Additionally, a late Hellenistic head, interpreted as Zeus/Sarapis, has been found at the site of Athienou-Malloura,[140] probably indicating the relation of Zeus with Ptolemaic power and ideology in a Cypriot context. In Ashton's words, with special reference on the merging of Zeus' and Sarapis' iconography in Alexandria, "this blending of attributes is confusing but appears to have been perfectly acceptable" in the Ptolemaic world.[141] An unidentified bearded head (of problematic date in my opinion) from Cholades (find 448) could shed more light on the syncretism between Zeus' and Sarapis' cult at Cholades. In that respect, the Roman head identified as Sarapis (find 318) could also be 'read' as Zeus/Sarapis, in accordance with our Late Roman textual evidence (*Vita Sancti Auxibii*). The syncretism between Priapus, another male god met at Cholades (see above), and Pan should also be briefly addressed, especially if a head currently in the Medelhavsmuseet recently identified as Pan, comes from Cholades.[142] Both Pan and Priapus were directly associated with the propagation of Ptolemaic cult.

It is well-known that the Ptolemies associated themselves with Alexander, the son of Zeus. Thus, along with the strong political issues associated with the battles of the *Diadochoi* to gain the dead body of Alexander and its final transfer to Egypt, these mythical associations provide a further

[139] Westholm 1932, 187–188; 1936, 19–21.

[140] Hermary 1989a, 320, no. 632.

[141] Ashton 2001, 53.

[142] Donkow 2005, particularly page 85. The material from Cholades is currently in the Cypriot Archaeological Museum, but some finds unearthed before the systematic excavation of the site, such as this 'Pan' head, might have been transferred at Sweden: Westholm 1936, 8. If there were any secure attributes to also identify some male nude statues (seemingly a rare phenomenon in Hellenistic Cyprus unless we are dealing with divine iconography) from Cholades with Pan (i.e. finds 340 and 507), we would be able to make some more valid interpretations on the relation between Pan and Ptolemaic ideology in a Cypriot context.

insight into Ptolemaic power and ideology. In addition, the priest formerly known as the 'priest of Alexander' became known as the 'priest of Alexander and of the *Theoi Adelphoi*' (i.e. the brother-sister gods), referring to the sibling marriage which was meant to be understood as an *hieros gamos* (sacred wedding) following the example of Zeus and Hera.[143] The kings of Macedon established themselves a close association with the cult of Zeus.[144] Coins minted by the Ptolemies sometimes depict the king and/or the queen, Alexander, or Zeus-Ammon with the eagle.[145] The portrait of the king endows him with divine attributes, for around his neck he wears the aegis of Zeus. Additionally, the *Soter* head is normally accompanied by a reverse showing the eagle of Zeus standing on a thunderbolt. Throughout the entire duration of the dynasty it was this image, with variations of style that dominated the coinage not only of gold but also of silver.[146] This type is very well attested for the silver coinage at Cyprus (fig. 76); in addition, the majority of the bronze coins from Cyprus represent Zeus-Ammon with the eagle on the reverse.[147] The Ptolemaic selection of images related to Zeus in a Cypriot context is indeed highly visible. The general cultic and ideological context of the marble 'Zeus' head and the limestone eagle (and in the case of the former, the material of its production) could probably enhance our argument for a strong presence of Ptolemaic politico-religious agency on the site.

When it comes to the cult of Ptolemaic queens, however, and especially to that of Arsinoe, the evidence from Soloi becomes much clearer. It has been argued that within the context of Ptolemaic ideology and propaganda and the new dynastic demands of the Hellenistic period, the visibility of the royal women grew significantly; as a consequence, the Ptolemaic queens obtained an increasingly powerful role, and usually the queen had equal power to the king.[148] The introduction of women into public life, and

143 For a recent interpretation on this sibling marriage see Buraselis 2008.

144 le Bohec-Bouhet 2002.

145 Jenkins 1990, 124, 139–143; Picard 1998.

146 Jenkins 1990, 139; Rodriguez 2004.

147 For Cypriot Hellenistic coinage see Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 1991, 30–40; Nicolaou, Mørkholm and Nicolaou 1976; Nicolaou 1990; Destrouper-Georgiades 2007b; Zapiti and Michaelidou 2007.

148 Wikander 1996; Hazzard 2000; Shipley 2000, 71–72, 102–106; Hölbl 2001, 257–258; van Bremen 2003, 326–330; Thompson 2006, 98; Carney 2011. One should probably also consider whether earlier Pharaonic ideas of queenship (see Troy 2003) had a role in the construction of Ptolemaic queenship: see for instance Llewellyn-Jones and Winder 2011.

particularly via the medium of religion, formed part of a greater social change related to gender roles and definitions, both in elite and non-elite circles.[149] The queen honoured as a wife, mother, sister, daughter and finally as a goddess, acquires a significant role in Ptolemaic ideology, having protective connotations of political, economic, public, familial, personal values and mores. Epigraphic evidence from Cyprus clearly suggests not only a pattern of reproduction of that aspect of Ptolemaic royal ideology on the island, but also, probably, a politico-religious symbolism associated with the cult of Aphrodite.[150]

A further element which is attested in Cyprus in relation to the Ptolemaic queens should be mentioned: some female heads moulded on some Hellenistic vessels, the so-called 'Magenta ware',[151] have been found in Cyprus and interpreted as portraits of Ptolemaic queens.[152] Recent scholarship has shown that these vessels are probably of a Cypriot workshop and not Alexandrian imports, as assumed before.[153] They have been compared with the famous Egyptian faience oinochoe related to the royal cult, found in burial Alexandrian contexts.[154] Some of the portraits on the Magenta ware display Ptolemaic traits. They bear the cork-screw Isiac locks and the majority have also been found in tombs; they have therefore been linked to the cult of Ptolemaic queens which has been associated with Isiac qualities offering protection to the deceased, but this interpretation remains problematic. As shown in the next chapter the identification of the Ptolemies is notoriously difficult. Nonetheless, we should consider the possibility that some of these vessels may represent the queens in a stylised form. Finally, we should note that the funereal aspect of the cult is particularly relevant to the role of the water and the chthonic nature of the Soloi cults.

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149 Wikander 1996.

150 Marquaille-Telliez 2008; Donkow 2009.

151 Michaelides 1991; 1994; 1997.

152 Yon 1985; Michaelides (1994, 319) after identifying those ceramics as 'Magenta ware' (not identified as such in Yon 1985) has questioned their identifications with specific Ptolemaic queens. For Magenta ware and its relation to Ptolemaic queens cf. Fourrier and Queyrel 1998, 651–652; Mehl 2000, 744, note 106; Lund 2011, 332.

153 Lund 2009, 332; cf. Michaelides 1997.

154 Fraser 1972, 240–241; Thompson 1973, 59–60. It is interesting to note that one such oinochoe, with the name of Ptolemy *Philopator* inscribed has been found in Kourion. Nonetheless, no queen is represented on it: see Mitford 1971, 138–139, no. 75. Fragments of faience oinochoe have also been found in the Hellenistic strata of the 'House of Orpheus' at Nea Paphos (personal communication with D. Michaelides, April 2008).

As the cult of Arsinoe enjoyed particular attention and significantly differs from the cults dedicated to the other members of the Ptolemaic dynasty it deserves some further elaboration.[155] After much disagreement in the court of Lysimachus and Ptolemy *Keraunos* at Macedonia, Arsinoe came to Egypt to marry her brother, Ptolemy II sometime before 274 BC. She died around 270 BC. During the years of her brief reign she had exercised an influential, though not uncontroversial, role. It seems that Ptolemy II added the cult of himself and Arsinoe as *Theoi Adelphoi* to the cult of Alexander in 272 BC. Soon after her death, although she continued to be worshipped jointly with her brother, she was also worshipped as an independent divinity, with her own temples and her own individual temple personnel. Her cult eventually became of great politico-economic importance for the state.[156] Arsinoe, as seen below, was associated with a number of deities and, at the same time, acted as a vehicle for the introduction of Egyptian divinities outside Egypt. The understanding of the queen's cult is crucial in approaching Ptolemaic power and ideology. As Marquaille puts it, "the cult of Arsinoe associated with Aphrodite provides a better understanding of how contemporaries grasped the realities of power than does the imposition of modern theories of imperialism".[157]

The name of Arsinoe was associated with Aphrodite *Euploia*, saviour of the shipwrecked and the protectress of the sailors and the navy, all of whom would have acted as agents of her cult promotion; during Hellenistic times, with a great mobility of people for various military and economic reasons, the cult of such saviour divinities was very popular.[158] Although here we do not want to simply focus on the perception of Arsinoe's cult in relation to Ptolemaic maritime power, it has to be mentioned that the cult of Arsinoe was particularly widespread in harbours and coastal cities. Cyprus, in particular, had become the headquarters of the Ptolemaic fleet; *Nauarchia* was originally related to non-Cypriot friends of the king and later linked to the island *Strategia*.[159]

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155 In this context, is worth noting, that apart from the evidence discussed below and in the landscapes chapter, gold octodrachms minted in Cyprus, i.e. Salamis, Kition and Paphos, bearing an idealised profile of the queen-goddess with the inscription *Arsinoes Philadelphou* have been found on the island: e.g. Zapiti and Michaelidou 2007, 121, no. 21.

156 Hölbl 2001, 101–104; Marquaille 2001, 166–234.

157 Marquaille 2001, 194.

158 Marquaille 2001, 195–200. For the relationship of Arsinoe II with Ptolemaic maritime power cf. Barbantani 2005. For her relation with the protection of the sailors see Fraser 1972, 239.

159 Hauben 1987, 226.

Ptolemaic control over Cyprus undoubtedly brought significant transformations to the cult of the local goddess. Marquaille argues that the connection between the cult of Aphrodite and the ruling power finds illustration several centuries later in the oath of allegiance by the Cypriot *Koinon* to the emperor Tiberius, which starts with the invocation of five divinities, among which Aphrodite *Akraia* comes first.[160] Commentators have usually questioned the first position of such a 'secondary' divinity; following Marquaille, however, the *Koinon* here might be merely using the divinity that had long been associated with the ruling power, and who the Ptolemies themselves had introduced into Cyprus as a meaningful goddess. In this context, however, it should be noted that some textual and archaeological evidence might suggest such a maritime role for the 'Cypriot Goddess' already by the eight century BC.[161] While shells, probably related also to the marine aspect of Aphrodite's cult, have been found in the coastal sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous,[162] for instance, the absence of such evidence from Cholades might be explained by the early character of the excavations. Additionally, it has to be said that both the cults of Dioscuri and Sarapis (at least by the Roman period in the case of the latter), which are present at Soloi, are also related to sailors and the ruler cult. It is therefore argued that a sanctuary dedicated to the 'Cypriot Goddess' at Soloi, also a harbour city,[163] could easily provide a basis for an Arsinoe cult. Considering the importance that Cypriot copper and agriculture had for the Ptolemaic state, the Cholades sanctuary, located in a rich locale owing to its water supplies and copper mines such as Potamos tou Kambou, could have been of particular importance for the establishment of early Ptolemaic authority in the area.

A temple dedicated to the queen Arsinoe *Kypris*—therefore directly referring to Aphrodite of Cyprus—by the *nauarchos* (admiral), Kallikrates of Samos, at Cape Zephyrion east of Alexandria is evidence enough to show

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160 Marquaille 2001, 208–209, 219.

161 Some ashlar blocks from the temple of 'Astarte' at Kition bear several graffiti of ships "characteristic of the sea-faring race of the Phoenicians": Karageorghis 1976, 99; cf. Smith 2009, 245. As Młynarczyk (1990, 116, note 70) also demonstrates, Aphrodite Paphia was also a protectress of good sailing and as such was known to the Greeks of Naukratis already in pre-Hellenistic times. Additionally, an Early Iron Age stone-anchor found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Amathous might relate to that aspect of her cult: see Hermary 1980, 235; Młynarczyk 1990, note 70. Finally, some Cypro-Archaic boat models dedicated in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous might relate to that aspect of the goddess. Carbillet (2005) has also put forward the probable hypothesis that some cults are connected with sailing and that the Cypriot *Basileis* played a role on these.

162 Hermary et al. 2006b, 139–140.

163 des Gagniers 1975, 217, fig. 1.

her association with Aphrodite.[164] Młynarczyk suggests the identification of Arsinoe with Aphrodite and discusses whether Cape Zephyrion (*akron*) near Alexandria and Zephyria (*akra*) near Palaipaphos, relate to the epithet *Akraia* of Aphrodite, presuming that the location of the sanctuary on the Paphian Cape Zephyria with its Aphodite cult may have even given a basis for the foundation of the temple on cape Zephyrion near Alexandria; she continues by arguing that it is even possible that the name of the cape was transferred from Cyprus to Alexandria, although the name Zephyria at Paphos is not mentioned before Strabo.[165] Anastassiades has objections not only to the suggestion that Arsinoe was worshipped at cape Zephyrion in Cyprus as Aphrodite *Akraia* and the relationship of the two promontories, but also to the identification of Arsinoe with Aphrodite in a Cypriot context.[166] He finally rejects the role of admiral Kallikrates in the identification of Arsinoe with Aphrodite. His main argument is based on the lack of sufficient Cypriot epigraphic evidence which puts the name of the queen with the name or the cult title of a divinity side-by-side. Although his objections are reasonable and acceptable, I would like emphasise the association (not the 'clear identification'—as Młynarczyk proposes) of Arsinoe with Aphrodite. The existing textual and iconographic elements are evidence enough to clearly illustrate the relationship of the queen with Aphrodite, even in a Cypriot context.

The queen was officially associated with the protectress of seafarers by the Ptolemaic admiral and therefore, by a key figure in the promotion of the Ptolemaic cult and, consequently, in the construction of royal power and ideology. Additionally, further textual evidence (Theocritus, *Idylls* 15) informs us that Arsinoe, already during her lifetime, celebrated with great magnificence the Adonia, the festival devoted to Adonis, the lover of Aphrodite. It is even believed that Arsinoe herself performed the role of Aphrodite in that festival.[167] Provided that we remember that we are dealing with poetry and not documentary accounts of historical festivals, we should also note that Theocritean texts are usually literary—therefore not objective—reflections of real events.[168]

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[164] Fraser 1972, 239; not surprisingly a pedestal of the statue of Kallikrates of Samos is found in the Palaipaphos sanctuary: see Mitford 1961a, 9, no. 18; on Kallikrates and his probable stay in Cyprus cf. Młynarczyk 1990, 115–117.

[165] Młynarczyk 1990, 118.

[166] Anastassiades 1998, 136–137.

[167] Fraser 1972, 197.

[168] Hunter 1996, 131, note 75.

Arsinoe was also associated with Isis and Sarapis and the association was accepted outside Egypt. While the cult of Isis is also related to merchants and sailors it also progressively applies to political elites. As Martin notes, while during the Hellenistic world the sanctuaries of Isis were established primarily in port cities and centres of commerce, towards the first century BC and early first century AD, the goddess appealed progressively more to an urban social and intellectual elite.[169] Nonetheless, the early relationship of Arsinoe to Isis is apparent in inscriptions and representations on the faience oinochoai from Alexandria discussed above, for example. In contrast to the association of Arsinoe with Aphrodite during her lifetime, however, her association with Isis probably happened only after her death, when the queen was also worshipped as a 'beneficent chthonic goddess'.[170] As Marquaille argues, the cult of Arsinoe thus became a vehicle for the introduction of Isis, which is also associated with salvation and maritime power, in areas outside Egypt.[171] It is important at this stage to restate that, according to the excavator's interpretation, the statues related to Isis were found in temple C and/or D, and are probably of later chronology than those related to Aphrodite, found in temple A and later transferred to temple B. However, during the second period that temples B, C and D co-existed, these images were visible contemporaneously. The relation of the Ptolemaic court with the cult of Isis partly explains the hellenised aspects of the cult of the Egyptian divinity outside Egypt.[172] The merging of the characteristics of the three goddesses, Aphrodite, Isis and Arsinoe went beyond the boundaries of the Egyptian kingdom, and it is crucial to realise that a lot of these characteristics may also be found in the Cholades cults.

In Egypt, Ptolemy *Philadelphus* decreed that the image of the deified queen would be placed in all of the country's sanctuaries as a guest-goddess, *synnaos thea*.[173] The cult of Arsinoe as *synnaos thea* is met at Philae, for instance, where the cult of Isis acquired particular importance during the

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[169] Martin 1987, 76.

[170] Thompson 1973, 20, 58–74. For her role as 'beneficent chthonic goddess' see particularly Thompson 1973, 69; Fraser 1972, 243.

[171] Marquaille 2001, 219–223. The navigation of a ship in the second major Isiac festival, i.e. the *Navigium Isidis*, relates to the wandering of the goddess to the shores of Byblos in search for Osiris, but also human wandering over the 'sea of life'. The festival also celebrated the spring calming of the rough winter sea: see Martin 1987, 78.

[172] Dunand 1973a, 66–108; Marquaille 2001, 223.

[173] Hölbl 2001, 101.

Ptolemaic period.[174] The cult of the deified queen was introduced also in areas outside Egypt, particularly in the temples of important local deities.[175] This is the case for the Idalion sanctuary for example (ch. 2.4.2). In many Aphrodite sanctuaries throughout the Hellenistic world, the cult of the queen was associated with that of the goddess. Although the name of Arsinoe is lacking from the stratified context of Cholades, two inscriptions bearing her name have been found in the locality of Potamos tou Kambou, where the sanctuary lies.[176] The sanctuary site of Mersinaki, however, which lies in the vicinity of Soloi and very close to Cholades has provided epigraphic evidence in which Arsinoe *Philadelphus* is directly mentioned. According to Westholm,[177] the first building activity at Cholades coincides with the date of that inscription. In addition, he argues that it is more than likely that the great stylistic change in the sculptures of Mersinaki is caused directly by the closer relationship between Ptolemaic Egypt and Cyprus that was established during that period. Those sculptures are of the same kind as the earliest sculptures found in Cholades, which, again, both for stylistic and stratigraphic reasons, can be dated to the period of Ptolemy *Philadelphus*. As the discussion below will show, this information is quite important.

The female marble head identified by Westholm as belonging to Aphrodite, has usually been re-interpreted as belonging to a statue of a Ptolemaic queen as Aphrodite (fig. 7).[178] Although Westholm is convinced that no marble or limestone head from Soloi is royal, he proceeds to a detailed comparison with other so-called royal heads and coin portraits that had been analysed up to that time, and concludes that both marble and limestone heads from Soloi have similar features and characteristics.[179] The most widely accepted interpretation is that this head represents Arsinoe *Philadelphus*.[180] Vermeule tends to identify this portrait with Berenice II, the wife of Ptolemy III *Euergetes*, who brought Ptolemaic power to its height in the eastern Mediterranean.[181] Another female statuette head of white, fine-grained

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174 Žabkar 1988, 3, 12–16.
175 Chaniotis 2003, 436–437.
176 Hirschfeld 1996, 330, 333; Nicolaou 1966, 57–58, no. 3; 1973, 212–213, no. 1.
177 *SCE* 3: 396.
178 Vermeule 1976, 55.
179 Westholm 1936, 188–195.
180 Thompson 1955, 205; Dikaios 1961, 108, no. 13; Kyrieleis 1975, 82–83, pl. 73, 1–4; Senff 1989, 191, note 25; Demetriou 2000, CXXXIV; Erath-Koiner 2003, 31; Vasileiou 2009, 154, fig. 16.3.
181 Vermeule 1976, 55.

marble from Soloi could easily be connected with the Ptolemaic queen (fig. 22). Dikaios interpreted this head as a probable portrait of a Ptolemaic queen, presumably again Arsinoe *Philadelphus*.[182] Vermeule, however, regards the features of this sculpture as ideal, of the Aphrodite type, and so finds identification almost impossible. He concludes that this head should better be seen as the famous 'Arsinoe-Aphrodite'.[183]

Moving away from the cult of Arsinoe *Philadelphus*, it has to be said that there is also strong textual, epigraphic and iconographic evidence for the association of other Ptolemaic queens with Isis and Aphrodite.[184] In Cyprus, for instance, as an inscription from Salamis informs us, queen Cleopatra III was worshipped as Aphrodite; the *Strategos-Archiereus* of the island was also the priest of her cult.[185] As Cleopatra's VII reign probably coincides with the construction of the Soloi temples B, C and D, the associations between Isis, Aphrodite and this queen should be borne in mind, especially considering that at this time the island was the scene of Ptolemaic activity.[186] Arsinoe II acquired an important role model for later queens, and her cult remained popular into the Roman period.[187] At this point, it is also crucial to emphasise that Cleopatra VII, at a time of political instability and critical political affairs for the Ptolemaic state, seems to have appropriated symbols and characteristics of her previous, most powerful female ancestor, Arsinoe II.[188] Other female heads from the Cholades sanctuary might prove thought-provoking for the relation between divine and royal image. Although Westholm, for example, regards the limestone head 314 more as a general type of Isis rather than as a portrait of a Ptolemaic queen as Isis (fig. 17), he acknowledges that such similar representations could have existed in contemporary sculptures from Alexandria.[189] It should be emphasised that this is a statue, sculpted in Cyprus on local material and in local techniques. Thus, differences in style and local variations are to be expected.

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182 Dikaios 1961, 108, no. 12. Even if Westholm (1936, 190–191) proceeds to a comparison of the find 425 with the coin portraits of Arsinoe II, and he sees that it corresponds fairly well with the pictures of Arsinoe II on the coins, he clearly states that he is convinced that this head is not an actual portrait of the queen. More discussion on the comparison of sculptures and coins will be made in the portraits chapter.
183 Vermeule 1976, 65, note 21.
184 Marquaille 2001, 203–207.
185 *AKEP* 4(1): 187, no. 54; Karageorghis 2010, 33–34.
186 Bagnall 1976, 38.
187 Ashton 2003, 58; cf. Llewellyn-Jones and Winder 2011, 254–255.
188 Ashton 2001, 48; Anastassiades 2009b.
189 Westholm 1936, 196–198.

We also have to investigate the interaction between the iconography of Ptolemaic queens and that of Isis. While, as the evidence from Delos and Athens suggest, the Hellenistic image of Isis outside Egypt was originally modeled after Aphrodite, the popularity of the 'dress of Isis', also worn by the Cholades mourning Isis, is far from common during the Hellenistic period.[190] Ashton argues that the association between specific types of representation of Isis might only developed in the late Hellenistic/early Roman period, as a result of Cleopatra's VII use of the goddess for political legitimation; it is, therefore, very easy for someone to misidentify Ptolemaic queens as Isis.[191] It is true that in Cyprus, as in other Mediterranean contexts, the cult of Isis becomes much more widespread after the fall of the Ptolemaic empire.[192] If we accept Westholm's identification of another marble head found in temple C as that of the deified Agrippina the Elder,[193] who lived in late first century BC/early first century AD and might have also been associated with Isis, the evidence for the practice of politicised cults at Cholades, or at least the political importance of the sanctuary, become even more concrete.

The direct relationship and conflation between the divine and royal image should be kept in mind. Nonetheless, it is indeed dangerous and unrealistic, based on the existing evidence, to proceed to any further interpretation regarding the identification of the above portrait-like heads. According to Smith, the majority of the female royal portraits are highly idealised.[194] While one, however, should avoid attributing names to the sculptures, it is important to note the context of their discovery, their material and their proximity to other female most probably royal portraits. Other female marble (i.e. find 511 and 532) (figs 11, 93) or stone heads, usually wearing a ribbon or a wreath, and in some cases associated probably with Aphrodite by Westholm as discussed above (i.e. finds 413, 502, 518, 519, 328, 517, 521, 522, 531), should also be associated with elite-style portraiture. The same is the case for male stone sculptures (i.e. finds 339, 534). A more detailed analysis of the Cypriot Hellenistic portrait-like sculpture in the next chapter, however, will further add to the above discussion.

190 Dunand 1973b, 110–113, pl. XXXII; Walker 1979, 248; Walters 1988, 3–6, 15.
191 Ashton 2001, 52–53.
192 Bricault 2001.
193 Westholm 1936, 206–209, pl. VII, no. 414.
194 Smith, 1988, 89.

Comparative evidence from the city of Alexandria might support the existence of Ptolemaic cult at Soloi-Cholades. The question recently raised by Kleibl remains vital: is there a topographic/symbolic correlation between the Soloi necropolis and the Cholades sanctuary, as is the case for the Alexandrian necropolis and the *Sarapeum*, one of the most important sanctuaries of the Ptolemaic capital?[195] Additionally, even if Westholm suggests that the earlier tombs lying underneath the temples are not related to the sanctuary structures, therefore leaving them out of the discussion,[196] I would wonder whether originally there was any correlation between the buildings and the burials. A modern spatial analysis would indeed supply further information on this and other architectural/ritual aspects. As the sanctuary site was reburied after the excavation and as (due to the political situation at the north of Cyprus) we cannot investigate, or at least experience the site nowadays, we cannot proceed to any further discussion on the issue.

Nonetheless, what is beyond question is the fact that in the Alexandrian *Sarapeum* complex next to Sarapis we also have the cult of Isis and that of the Ptolemies. We have discussed how the worship of Sarapis was mainly an act of loyalty to the royal house and was closely associated in the public mind with the dynastic cult, both in Alexandria and outside Egypt; worship of the dynasty, securely attested not only by sculptural but also by epigraphic evidence, was apparently carried on within the temenos of Sarapis.[197] A sculptural group of a king, his queen, and Sarapis has been found in the site: as Smith argues, we might imagine a seated Sarapis flanked by a standing king and queen.[198] Royal cult statues could be placed not only in their own temenos or in a public building, but as Smith argues, in the temple of another god, if one deals with the *synnaoi theoi* situation; consequently, statues of kings could be made to evoke godlike qualities, bridging the gap between the gods and mortal kings and making ruler cult 'credible'.[199]

While Sarapis is not clearly present in the Hellenistic sculptural series of Cholades, the inscriptions mentioning this god, found in the excavation, have been dated to the third century BC.[200] In comparative terms within a Cypriot context, one should probably turn to the coastal site of Amathous, where epigraphic evidence clearly establishes the official cult of Isis, Sarapis

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195 Kleibl 2007, 149.
196 Westholm 1936, 86.
197 Fraser 1960, 17–18, note 1.
198 Smith 1988, 92.
199 Smith 1988, 19.
200 *SCE* 3: 625–626.

and members of the Ptolemaic dynasty next to that of Aphrodite, as *synnaoi theoi* in the same sanctuary (ch. 3.3.3).[201] Interestingly, although any further discussion is proved to be circular, Senff has even suggested that the room V at Cholades, the find-spot of many of statues discussed above could have been used as a room for the ruler cult.[202] In fact, a closer examination of the find-spots of this material,[203] including some badly corroded alabaster sculptures, marble sculptures of Aphrodite and/or the 'queen heads', the statues of Cybele, the figure probably related to the cult of Isis (find 439), and the Hellenistic inscription (a marble base for two statuettes, find 428) mentioning Sarapis clearly supports the suggestion put forward here: Room V should better be regarded as part of a temple, in that case temple A and later temples B and C, where Aphrodite and the *synnaoi theoi* were worshiped.

Further Discussion

While this might merely be due to the general lack of archaeological visibility on the island, especially when it comes to pre-Roman periods, one cannot underestimate that the case of Cholades at Soloi stands alone in the excavated record of ancient Cyprus. The questions remain: Why is a combination of 'religious syncretism', Ptolemaic power and ideology attested so strongly at Soloi, in a newly built, sub-urban or peri-urban (broadly defined) sanctuary of early Hellenistic date? By whom were these cults established so early in a sanctuary founded *ex novo*? By whom was the sanctuary established and used?

One could consider the story that Athenaeus tells us in his *Deipnosophistae* (13.576) that the last *Basileus* of Soloi, Eunostos, was married to Eirene, the daughter of Ptolemy *Soter*. This led early scholars to assume that Eunostos, through a personal relationship between the ruling families, ought to have ruled his city even into the third century BC.[204] However, as explained, due to the lack of any epigraphic or numismatic evidence to support this, we need to take the year 306 BC as a *terminus ante quem* for the total abolition of the city-kingdoms. One is therefore totally dependent on this rather late (second century AD) and problematic source. In addition, even if that wedding took place, although royal intermarriage is a standard way of imperial integration and power legitimation,[205] for the moment there is no way to

201 Hermary et al. 2006b, 163–164.
202 Senff 1993, 12, note 95.
203 Westholm 1936, plan VI.
204 Westholm 1936, 16–17; Mitford 1961b, 133–134.
205 Sinopoli 2001, 197.

prove such a political status for Soloi in the early Hellenistic period. Eunostos might have simply kept an administrative function within the broader Ptolemaic administration. It may be said however that such intermarriage should definitely create a more direct bridge between Soloi and Alexandria. Additionally, as discussed when examining the Alexander head found in Cholades, the political affiliations of the Soloi *Basileis* with Alexander and Ptolemy I, would indeed justify an early promotion of Alexandrian cults in the area.

On the one hand, the diffusion of the Alexandrian cults within the Mediterranean basin could be attributed to sailors and merchants. The foundation of a cult, on the other hand, could be attributed to private initiative or to public and civil interest. While the Cholades cults seem to be addressed and applied to both public and personal needs, they also seem to be highly politicised and relate to Ptolemaic power and ideology. Building new temples and setting up new cults, is a very costly undertaking and decisive in determining one's religious identity.[206] Additionally, as the excavator rightly states, the appearance of high quality sculptures of imported marble at the very beginning of the sanctuary's sculptural series, and at a moment when such imports are rare, should be noted.[207]

The inscription referring to Sarapis comprises a dedication by the non-Cypriot Moschion, son of Kritodemos from Rhodes, but this cannot be related to an establishment of cult.[208] A series of inscriptions from the site, however, probably refer to the same person;[209] amongst them, the inscription on a marble tablet referring to the dedication of a temple to Priapus by Moschion, built in the third century BC at the order of Sarapis. The non-Cypriot Moschion could have been a member of a garrison or other federation stationed on the island. The role of the garrison and other federations in the promotion and expansion of royal power and ideology outside Egypt is well attested by modern scholarship.[210]

One should probably further investigate comparative evidence from other Mediterranean areas, where the cults of Aphrodite or Isis, members of the Ptolemaic dynasty and Sarapis are found together or merged. The

206 van Straten 1993, 259.
207 Westholm 1936, 187.
208 Hirschfeld 1996, 330.
209 *SCE* 3: 625, 630; Hirschfeld 1996, 330.
210 e.g. Mitford 1961b, 119–120; Bagnall 1976, 220–224; Mehl 2000, 660–661; Anastassiades 2003,116–118; Hermary 2004, 54–55.

aforementioned dedication of Kallikrates' temple to Arsinoe near Alexandria, for example, should be considered. Similarly, Chairemon established a sanctuary of Sarapis, Isis and Arsinoe *Philadelphus* at Halikarnassos.[211] Additionally, during the first half of the third century BC, Athens had special connections with the Ptolemies. The cult of Sarapis is introduced to the city and receives official status: as textual evidence informs us, the cult statues of *Philadelphus* and Arsinoe are placed next to the statue of Sarapis.[212] Finally, the Athenians, during the Hellenistic period, built temples dedicated to Sarapis and Isis on Delos, a religious centre of great politico-economic importance (see above);[213] the 'syncretism' of cults practiced there, and the conflation of religious identities are the best preserved expressions of the 'Hellenistic religious spirit'.[214] In all the cases, the cults seem to be politically supervised by the Ptolemaic thalassocracy in the Aegean and the broader Mediterranean, and relate to those of Cholades.

While Ptolemaic power is usually more obvious in 'urban', 'renowned', 'high-status' sanctuaries, we have seen that this is not necessarily the only case. We first need to remember that the meaning we attribute to the 'urban', 'renowned' or 'high-status' does not necessarily equal that of ancient people, and secondly, to acknowledge that the relationship between urban and extra-urban space, especially in the occupied and archaeologically less investigated area of Soloi, is far from well-understood. We hardly know the pre-Roman centre of Soloi. Considering the nearby (and older in time) Mersinaki sanctuary within this methodological framework, could further add to our discussion. If we accept Bazemore's suggestion that in the city-kingdom of Soloi there might have functioned two 'acropoleis' (ch. 2.4.1),[215] then Mersinaki is located on the seashore between the two 'acropoleis'. Mersinaki, as seen above, has also provided evidence for the Arsinoe cult.

One could indeed wonder whether the 'peri-urban' or 'sub-urban' sanctuary of Soloi-Cholades, with so many particularities in cult in comparison to other excavated sites, should be seen as a reflection of the cults practiced by a foreign community, stationed in the island during the Hellenistic times. We have to remember the difficulties in setting methodological criteria for examining Hellenistic societies as divided units, especially when it comes

211 Chaniotis 2003, 442.
212 Dunand 1973b, 8.
213 Dunand 1973b, 83–115.
214 Shipley 2000, 168–170.
215 Bazemore 2009.

to the case of Cyprus (ch. 1.4). It has been demonstrated how questions about ethnic and cultural identities—based on style—have limited use in a Hellenistic context. Comparative evidence from other Mediterranean areas has clearly shown that there is no fixed connection between style, identity and meaning.[216] At Soloi-Cholades, it is possible to see how both the local and the Ptolemaic artistic and religious traditions are in place. The co-existence and/or intermixing of materials, styles and techniques (some of them completely alien to the Cypriot tradition and others combining elements of the local tradition and of the Hellenistic so-called *koine*), as well as that of religious concepts and ideas, could also betray the intermixing of people, and the use of the sanctuary by locals and foreigners, elites and non-elites, as is the case in other excavated sanctuaries. By looking at the material within less linear subdivisions of time, we can see the co-existence of local styles and ideas (e.g. the woman wearing the crown and the 'temple-boy') with Hellenistic styles and ideals (e.g. the marble 'queen' heads and the Aphrodite statuettes). As elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the Hellenistic style was eventually 'hybridised' with local styles, elements and ideas, and this transformed 'Hellenism' lived well into the Roman period. The levels of interaction between the 'incoming' and the 'local' are difficult to grasp, but inputting only 'top-down' approaches to these transformations is a problematic methodology.

Religion can work as a bridge for communication between different groups. The image of the 'Cypriot Goddess' *par excellence* transcends the domain of religion and diachronically becomes a veritable mark of Cypriot cultural identity. Ptolemaic control over Cyprus undoubtedly brought significant transformations to the cult of the goddess. Nonetheless, as during the city-kingdom period, the goddess, now fully 'Hellenised' under the form of Aphrodite,[217] is taken as the building block of political power and ideology on the island. With the exception of earlier local cults of a more modest scale that eventually disappeared, the traditional ones turned out to remain the main factor of social integration; in fact, the mainstream of Hellenistic politico-religious life in each geographic context originated from these old traditional cults.[218]

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216 Verslyus 2008, 343.
217 Papantoniou 2011.
218 Dihle 1993, 295.

In other words, as in the case of Egypt and other Mediterranean areas, local structures and local conditions (the Cypriot *mentalité*), are fully taken into consideration for the construction and reproduction of Hellenistic royal ideology. The architecture of the Cholades temples comprises the firmest indication of the above statement: while strong cultural and religious mainland Greek and Alexandrian elements are in place, and while the sanctuary was developed only in Ptolemaic times, its basic and original architecture is on the model of the traditional Cypriot temenos. In its long period of use, the *cellas* increased in number and became more monumental. Already from the late Hellenistic/early Roman period, and especially as we reach the third century AD, some Greek and Egyptian architectural influences, such as the portico and the monumental entrance or *propylon*, are clearly developed in the sanctuary. Alongside the character of the sculptures and other finds, the study of the site's architecture in the long-term reveals its importance: originally, a traditional temenos with confined features, through the centuries acquired architecture of unique complexity and monumentality, invisible so far in the excavated record of ancient Cyprus. Like the Palaipaphos sanctuary, however, it never acquired a Greek style temple, a late Hellenistic phenomenon attested only rarely in Cyprus (ch. 2.4.2). The interpretation of Westholm that the architecture of the Palaipaphos sanctuary (textually and epigraphically attested as the centre of the political theatre from a Hellenistic and Roman perspective) acted as the model for the construction of (at least some of) the Cholades temples is indeed very attractive.[219]

To complete the case of Soloi, in the spirit of a lighter or more 'folkloristic' interpretation, I refer to Westholm's effort to interpret the name Cholades.[220] The first interpretation concerning the ceremony of painting

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219 Westholm 1933, 218; 1936, 163.

220 Westholm 1936, 13, note: "The name *χολάδες* has proved to be difficult to explain: *ἡ χολάς, -άδος* occurs in ancient Greek and the plural *χολάδες* is used in the same meaning as *ἔντερα*, bowels, guts … Hesych [*sic*] mentions a Dionysus feast called *χολάς* … In E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge 1914, it is described as a dark pigment with which women blackened the edges of their eyelids. In modern Cypriote the word *χολάς* is usually known in the somewhat corrupted form *χολά*, the plural form of which is *χολάδες*; cf. *μπογιά*, plural *μπογιάδες*, colour, paint. In modern Cyprus, the pigment is used not by the grown-up women but for paintings around the eyes of babies at certain occasions. Perhaps the ceremony of painting was connected with the locality in some way, or is the name simply explained by the numerous fragments of painted stucco which are found all over the ground? There are many names of places in Cyprus which must be explained in a similar way, such as *γάστρες*, *γάστρια* or *γάστρικα*, which all are caused by ancient pottery fragments visible on the ground".

is indeed an interesting one to keep in mind, since it could be related to the 'imported' mystery cults or/and to the Ptolemaic power and ideology.[221] In conclusion, I have argued here that the character of the finds and the diachronic study of cult at Soloi-Cholades clearly suggest the initiation and promotion of its cults by political local and/or non-local elites and could serve as a paradigm for the study of the character of Ptolemaic ideology on the island. One might start thinking of the incorporation of local traditions into the Ptolemaic ideology, or vice versa, in order to better communicate symbols and meanings of syncretism and power. Nonetheless, further discussion on this issue will be ventured in the Amathous part, where the Cypriot local tradition will form our starting point.

3.3. Amathous

The urban centre of the ancient city-kingdom of Amathous, today incorporated into the suburbs of Limassol town, is located on the south coast of Cyprus. Environmental factors, such as changes in sea level, earthquake activity and accumulation of debris, together with strenuous human activity such as stone shifting, construction of tourist facilities and roads have greatly altered the landscape over the centuries.[222] However, thanks to the quality of the recent excavation and publication of the site, its history can now be understood better than ever before.[223]

3.3.1. *History of Research and Topography*

In the second half of the 19th century, after an archaeological mission led by Count Melchior de Vogüé, a number of finds—including the best preserved of the colossal stone vases—were transferred to Louvre. Among later brief excavations, the most notable figure was that of Luigi Palma di

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[221] The cult of Dionysus also encompassed a mystery aspect in the Hellenistic period, and belonged to the resurgence of the chthonic evocations of the sacred: Martin 1987, 93–98. Dionysus was one of the main deities that the Ptolemies associated themselves with. In the context of Cholades it is interesting to note that the cult of Sarapis itself was probably intended in part to express the supremacy of the Osirian aspect of Dionysus: see Fraser 1972, 206–207. It is also interesting to note that through the aforementioned inscription referring to Priapus, the son of Dionysus, we might indeed establish a connection of the Cholades cult with the latter.

[222] Bousquet and Péchoux 1984, 119–146; Péchoux 1996, 9–12; 2000, 11–14.

[223] For a plan with the general topography of Amathous as described below see Aupert 2000a, 12–13, fig. 3.

Cesnola, who carried out excavations mainly in the cemeteries. Consequently, important finds from Amathous made their way to various international museums. The first proper archaeological mission was conducted by the British Museum between 1893 and 1894, when 312 tombs were opened and published.[224] In 1930, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated and published a further 26 tombs.[225]

Since 1975, a French mission, sponsored by the French School of Athens, has undertaken a systematic excavation of the 'acropolis'. The temenos and temple of Aphrodite, 'palatial' structures, various stretches of the so-called city wall, a domestic quarter and an Early Christian basilica were uncovered. Moreover, the mission undertook underwater exploration of the outer port. Finally, the team surveyed a large area north of the city to study the development of human occupation of the site. In addition, the Cypriot Department of Antiquities has excavated hundreds of tombs that were threatened by the construction of tourist facilities, and a central area of the lower city, as well as four Early Christian basilicas. The excavation of the French mission and of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities in the area is still in progress.

The results of these excavations are published in the annual reports in *BCH* and *ARDAC* and periodically in other journals or conference proceedings. However, the most important contribution of the French mission is the final publication of their finds in the series of volumes under the titles *Amathonte* and *La Nécropole d'Amathonte*, which supply a clear picture of the evidence.

A very general overview of the research and the topographical features of Amathous has so far been presented.[226] Let us, however, now focus on three important structures, namely the 'palace' and its sanctuaries, the temenos of Aphrodite and the 'subterranean cult place', where enquiries about the involvement of social power in religion can be addressed.

3.3.2. *The 'Palace' and Its Sanctuaries*

Excavations on the 'acropolis' of Amathous have brought to light the ruins of what was once clearly a building complex of significant architectural quality (fig. 23). The members of the French expedition initially tended to use

224 Murray, Smith, Walters 1900, 87–126.

225 *SCE* 2: 1–141.

226 For further details on the history of excavations and topography see Hellmann and Tytgat 1984; Aupert 1996a, 13–15; 2000b, 15–16; Hermary 2006b, 5–13.

quotation marks when referring to the 'palace',[227] but this practice has since been abandoned. The privileged location on the city's so-called 'acropolis' (where no domestic activity has so far been noted prior to the Hellenistic period), the particular monumental character and the significant architectural quality of the building complex should be considered. Storage pithoi, workshops, luxury wares and items and evidence of archival work including clay sealings and bronze styluses have been uncovered.[228] It is more than clear that if the structure was not a dependency of the royal 'palace', it was at least directly associated with the administration and the socio-economic life of the city-kingdom. Therefore, it seems reasonable to use—at least conventionally—the terms 'palace' and 'palatial' with reference to the direct administrative function of those buildings.

The chronology and the architectural phases of the 'palace' have been well established. In the late Cypro-Geometric period, during the ninth century BC, the construction of the building can be first observed.[229] In the late Cypro-Archaic period or sixth century BC, additional building activity can be seen, while the third and last phase has been dated to the early Cypro-Classical period, from about 500 until 300 BC. Some reoccupations of the site took place, but these lie outside the scope of this monograph.

This building is comparable, both in structure and finds, to edifices elsewhere in Cyprus, particularly to the so-called 'palace' at Vouni and the two complexes at Kouklia (Hadji Abdullah and Evreti). More specifically, the similarity with the Vouni building is even more obvious,[230] in particular regarding the association of the politico-economic power with the religious one. The existence of storage rooms and pithoi in both 'palaces' confirms the involvement in economic activity and control over products (mainly wine, grains and oil) by the elites.[231] Moreover, in the case of Amathous, where the excavation reports are more detailed and reliable, there is clear evidence of workshops within the immediate area of the 'palace'. In room I, for instance, a significant quantity of copper slag, fragments of crucibles, a number of

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227 e.g. Petit 1995a; 1996c, 99; Hermary 1993, 175. For the limited semantic use of the term 'palace' in English usage, implying residence of the ruling family, and its usage referring to an ancient Cypriot context see Wright 1992b, 273–274.

228 Petit 1996b, 115–117; Hermary 2000a, 113–114.

229 Until recently, the construction of the 'palace' was placed in the Cypro-Archaic period, around 700 BC. For more recent discoveries, however, see Petit 2001, 58; D'Agata and Hermary 2006; Blandin, Petit and Tassignon 2008.

230 *SCE* 3: 188–189, fig. 119.

231 Petit, 1996b.

loom-weights and the debris of a roughly-hewn oven have been found.[232] It is also possible that a limestone sculpture workshop existed within the 'palace'.[233] While the existence of a '*Propylon*' sanctuary has been suggested by Hermary, Petit, who is excavating the complex, rejects this identification, but identifies the '*Kouros*' and '*Baetyl*' sanctuaries. Therefore, at least three places of cult within the immediate environs of the 'palace' have been proposed, although, according to the excavator, evidence of more shrines might be detected.[234]

The 'Propylon' Sanctuary

The comparison between the Amathous (fig. 23) and the Vouni 'palaces' (fig. 24) by Hermary suggests that in both places some evidence of cult practice in a kind of *propylon*, a monumental entrance in front of the 'palace', can be observed.[235] It is worth noting that in both cases almost all the monumental sculpture of the building complexes come from this area. It is thus in rooms 120–129 and 130–137 in front of the Vouni 'palace' that almost all the large-scale sculptures of the site have been found, particularly the famous 'Vouni kore' and the head of the goddess wearing a *kalathos* ornamented with dancers.[236] Other minor limestone statuettes, together with terracotta figurines, have also been found. In *chantier* B in front of the 'palace' of Amathous some architectural structures and finds, which according to Hermary should be considered as coming from this zone, support this idea: a column base 'of Achaemenid type',[237] a stepped capital,[238] and a monumental Hathor capital (fig. 25) have been found.

More fragments of Hathor capitals have been found in the 'palace' area.[239] Evidence from Amathous and Vouni seems to confirm the architectural use, at least of some of the Hathor capitals.[240] Moreover, an Hathor capital found

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232 Petit 2002, 291–292.
233 Hermary 2000a, 113–114.
234 Petit 2002, 312.
235 Hermary 2000a, 164–167; 2001a, 14–16.
236 *SCE* 3: pls XLVIII–LIII, nos 16, 17.
237 Vandenabeele 1988, 524–525, figs 8–13.
238 Hermary 1996c, 89–94, pl. X. This type of capital, known as 'Mycenaean capitals', are very common in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: see Karageorghis 1971. Hermary (1996c, 94) not only puts forward their probable relation with Hathor capitals but also their use by Amathousians in order to establish and reinforce their relation with the mythical past and Palaipaphos, as descendants of the companions of Kinyras.
239 Hermary 2000a, 144–148.
240 *BCH* 114(2): 1003, fig. 24; Hermary 2000a, 146.

in Kition offers further evidence:[241] Cypriot Hathor capitals most usually depict the goddess' head wearing a model shrine (*naiskos*) as a headdress. On the Kition example the doorway of the shrine on her headdress is itself flanked by two more Hathor heads. Nonetheless, it is commonly accepted that in fact, usually, Hathor capitals were *stelai* set on the ground: this view is based on the size of the majority of the capitals, on later Roman Cypriot epigraphic evidence in combination with Egyptian papyri, Phoenician cult habits, and mainly on iconographic analysis of decorated pottery (i.e. a jug fragment with a representation of worshippers in front of a Hathoric *stele* set on the ground) and sculpture (i.e. the decoration of the headdress of the so-called Worcester head where pillars with Hathor capitals are shown between dancing 'satyrs' and 'maenads').[242] This, however, could equally be better explained as a result of economy of space, selective representation, or the difficulty of representing the whole building. In this context it might be explained as a more general shorthand for sacred or ritual space. One should probably accept the possibility that both uses of the capitals might be attested in Cyprus.[243] It could therefore be possible that in Amathous there was an imposing façade consisting of a doorway flanked by columns with Hathor head capitals.

Other finds probably found around the so-called *propylon* area might also be indicative of a cultic character: a relief with the figure of a Bes-like god, a phallus relief, two pieces from incense burners (*thymiateria*) ornamented with sphinxes, another fragment probably of a Bes-like statue, numerous relief fragments with animals, one depicting a person riding a ram, fragments of female statues, figurines and fine wares. It is interesting to note that in the 'palace' at Vouni, as well, figures of Bes-like gods seem to have been placed at entrances, probably as a benevolent protector averting the powers of evil away from the 'palace'.[244] According to Hermary, all this information, taken together, supports the idea that, probably, like Vouni, access to the 'palace' was through a sanctuary area located directly in front of it.

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241 Hermary 1985, 666, fig. 8.

242 For discussion see Aupert 1986, 371–372; Hermary; 1998b, 70–71; 2000a, 146; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 100.

243 Carbillet forthcoming.

244 Adelman 1971, 63. For striking parallels from Athienou-Malloura see Counts and Toumazou 2006, 601, note 21.

The 'Kouros' Sanctuary

Room I of the 'palace', as already mentioned, contained evidence of metal working and artisans' activity (fig. 26). The fill and debris that overlay this room and other storerooms as well (rooms II, XIV) yielded quantities of fragmentary votives and other ritual equipment: two stone incense burners (*thymiateria*) accompanied by a stone kouros of rare type (fig. 27), dating to the end of the Cypro-Archaic period. Similarly, at the Vouni 'palace' a statuette of Zeus-Ammon, a terracotta Bes-like figurine and three incense burners have been found within the zone of storage rooms (rooms 10–14).[245] From this it might be inferred that the protection of production in the 'palaces' was associated with a masculine divinity.

The existence of artisan activity in a Cypriot sanctuary is not uncommon. For instance, it is clearly present in the Kition-Bamboula shrines and it is well attested in the earlier Bronze Age (ch. 2.4.1). As seen below it is probably even present in the temenos of Aphrodite at the 'acropolis' of Amathous. The exact relation of metallurgical production and religion or of metallurgy and royalty in the Iron Age is far for being well understood. However, this evidence should be kept in mind when considering the involvement of political power with cultic activity.

The 'Baetyl' Sanctuary

At the north part of the Amathous 'palace', between walls 60, 61 and 62, another small shrine with a circular altar has been uncovered (fig. 28). Again, similar altars have been found at the 'palatial' sanctuaries of Vouni, and at the sanctuaries of Kition-Kathari and Kition-Bamboula.[246] Hydraulic installations and canals confirm the direct relation of the cult practiced in that shrine with water. Similar elements can be found in the Aphrodite sanctuary on the top of the 'acropolis' and in sanctuaries of Astarte in Syria and Palestine.[247] The use of water in religion, as has already been discussed in the Soloi section, should be regarded as having a powerful cleansing and miraculous function.

All the votive and ritual material found derives from the third phase, i.e. the Cypro-Classical strata of the sanctuary. These objects stylistically belong to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth centuries BC. They were

245 Hermary 2000a, 166–167.

246 Petit 2002, 293. For Kathari see Karageorghis 1976, 137, pl. 103. For Bamboula see Caubet 1984, 115, 117–118, fig. 3.

247 Bonnet 1996, 34–35.

found either *in situ* or very close to their original position. This is extremely important, considering that the biography of these objects as active elements within their context might have ended as soon as the 'palace' had stopped being an active and meaningful structure. The most important find from this sanctuary is the statuette of the 'priest with the mask', which will receive further attention below (fig. 29). Other statuettes and finds include: a kore statuette holding a flower (fig. 30), a draped male kouros statuette (fig. 31), a male head wearing a turban interpreted as *mitra* (fig. 32),[248] four fragmented sphinx-*thymiateria* (fig. 33), a relief depicting a centaur, terracotta figurines, pots and lamps. Finally, a stone in the form of *T* (fig. 34), interpreted as a rare form of *baetyl* in comparison with Levantine parallels, has been found;[249] it is due to that find that this sanctuary has been provisionally identified.

The 'palatial' sanctuaries of Amathous and their finds have so far briefly been presented. However, the main concern of this project is to look for the expression of social power within the archaeological record of religion. Although the finds themselves have already given some indications, this is further investigated below. For the moment it should be kept in mind that the 'palace' with its sanctuaries was abandoned at the end of the Cypro-Classical/beginning of Hellenistic period. Although, from the extant publications there is no clear evidence for catastrophe and violence, the abandonment of the site, and the lack of dynamic decision-making for rebuilding, should be viewed as an episode connected with the abolition of the city-kingdoms, and consequently, with the military and political acts of the Hellenistic *Diadochoi*. This is a further criterion which further recommends the identification of the building as a royal dependency.

3.3.3. *The Sanctuary of Aphrodite*

Let us now turn our attention to the major public cult centre of Amathous, located on top of the 'acropolis', and indeed, one of the most important sanctuaries for the whole island (fig. 35).[250] Its importance is clearly established when one considers the passage of the Roman historian Tacitus (*Annales* 3.62) concerning the right of asylum decided by the Roman

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248 For discussion on the *mitra* see below (ch. 3.3.5).

249 A similar stone of the same type has been found within the 'palace', further south of the '*Baetyl*' sanctuary: see Petit 2002, 298.

250 See also Fourrier and Hermary 2006, pl. 5, no. 2.

Senate in 22 AD. Because of its prestige, its antiquity and its mythical affiliation, it is listed among the three most important sanctuaries of the island. The successive modifications and constructions of the later temple and basilica have made the study of the Cypro-Archaic, Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic strata even more problematic, and it has therefore been very difficult to clearly understand the stratigraphy and, consequently, the chronology.[251] However the quality of the excavation reports allows a basic reconstruction of the history of the sanctuary.

The City-Kingdom Period

The oldest occupation of the sanctuary site has been dated to the eleventh/tenth centuries BC, as a tomb cut into the rock on the steep north side of the cliff indicates.[252] According to the excavators, since it had been remodeled and partly filled at the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period (end of the eighth-beginning of the seventh centuries BC) when the first secure traces of the sanctuary appeared, nothing was found inside the tomb except a stone with round cavities.[253] This find and the design of the tomb are comparable to the tombs of the eleventh-tenth centuries BC of the Skales necropolis of Palaipaphos.[254] Nevertheless, as this type of tomb is not restricted to the eleventh/tenth centuries BC, its shape cannot be used as a dating tool. It is, therefore, possible that the tomb was also constructed at the end of the Cypro-Geometric or the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period, when the first secure traces of the sanctuary appeared.[255]

The prominent position of the tomb, along with the 'palace' and the sanctuary, at a time when no other burial chambers are recorded on the hill is surprising and might indicate the presence of a Cypro-Archaic hero-cult. This could explain the construction, and therefore the probable sanctification of the tomb when a proper sanctuary occupies the site in the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic period. At this time a canalisation system and other

251 Hermary et al. 2006a, 15–16.

252 Hermary 1994b; Hermary et al. 2006a, 16–21, fig. 9 and pl. 8, no. 6. The eleventh century BC is the earliest occupation of the site of Amathous, as well; see Aupert 1997; Hermary 1999, 55–56; Hermary and Iacovou 1999; Iacovou 2002b.

253 Fourrier and Hermary 2006, pl. 8, no. 4.

254 However, Fourrier (2003) argues that the stone of Amathous could be dated in the Cypro-Archaic period; cf. Hermary et al. 2006a, 19–20 and Gubel 2007, 157–159, where is argued that those stones might have had a ritual use. For Cypriot Bronze Age gaming stones see Swiny 1980.

255 Papantoniou forthcoming, 281–282.

ritual activity seem to have been associated with the tomb. Nevertheless, there is insufficient evidence for the tomb to be identified with that of Ariadne, who died in childbirth at Amathous where, according to the Amathousian Paion cited by Plutarch (*Theseus* 20.3–7), she received a cult under the name of 'Ariadne-Aphrodite'.[256] According to this textual evidence, a yearly ritual instituted by Theseus was held in honour of 'Ariadne-Aphrodite', where a young man would have to pretend to experience the labour pains of birth-giving.[257] A similar rite, called *couvade*, is still practiced in some 'traditional' societies.[258] The direct relation of the sacred place with the tomb is of extreme importance. Elements of generation, re-generation, suffering, death and salvation should be kept in mind while trying to penetrate the minds and cosmology of the Amathousians.

The first probable indication of the use of the site as a sanctuary does not come from the sanctuary itself but from the 'Western Terrace', where a deposit which included pottery and terracotta female figurines dating to the end of the eighth/beginning of the seventh century BC has been discovered.[259] No cultic material of this period has been found in the sanctuary.

This is a temenos-type sanctuary. The entrance to its courtyard, on analogy with the use of the Soloi-Cholades cisterns, as Hermary has recently argued, was probably marked by monolithic stone vases (fig. 36).[260] It was generally believed that the Amathous stone vases were two in number, the fragmentary one is still *in situ*,[261] and its complete mate now in the Louvre.[262] However, fragments of a probable third vase have recently been found; the presence of a third vase is also confirmed by letters written by Cesnola and others in the 19th century.[263] To get an idea of the importance of the vases, it should be mentioned that the complete one is about the size of a

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256 For the most recent interpretation of the tomb see Hermary 2006b, 160–163. According to Hermary (2006b, 163) another hypothesis would be the relation of this tomb with Amathous, the mythical founder of the sanctuary or with Adonis, the consort of the goddess.

257 An androgynous bearded deity named Aphroditos was also worshipped at Amathous. According to Bennett (1980, 321) this cult could be related to *couvade*.

258 Doja 2005.

259 Hermary 2000a, 19; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 82.

260 Hermary et al. 2006a, 29.

261 Fivel 1990.

262 Hermary 1981, 83–84; cf. Fontan 2007. A copy of this complete vase is now on the site: see *BCH* 2000, 124, figs 28–29; Hermary et al. 2006a, 25–29.

263 Hermary et al. 2006a, 27–28.

person in height.[264] Stylistic evidence dates these vases to the seventh century BC. Stone vases or their fragments have also been found in other Cypriot sites and probable sanctuaries, such as at Golgoi, Pyla, Enkomi and one from the region of Larnaka, but none are as large as those of Amathous.[265] Hermary addresses the importance that water acquires in the Cypriot cult since the Late Bronze Age.[266] A formal or a relational analogy with the monumental ritual vases of the Syro-Palestinian coast, i.e. the 'brazen sea' in the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem which is supported by twelve bulls,[267] could be drawn, but this would be completely outside the scope of the present study. An iron hook, found in the sacrificial area, and relating to the Hebrew tradition of bull sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple, further supports this idea.[268] The Semitic influence in Amathous, and Cyprus in general, has been extensively discussed.[269] It should be kept in mind, however, that practical or technical diffusion is not synonymous with a religious one.

Each handle of the vase is decorated with two palmettes placed on protoaeolic capitals and a bull. In front of one of the bulls, an inscription in the Eteocypriot language (written in the Cypriot syllabary) reads *a-na*, but those first two signs are followed by another sign which is indistinct and two others that are unreadable; this word most probably refers to the divinity, or is itself the name of this divinity, as it was called in Amathous.[270] This inscription is also found on small vases discovered in the sanctuary, obviously offerings to the goddess. According to the excavator, the decoration of the monumental vases cannot have been chosen at random, and should be seen as evoking symbols of life and fertility. Consequently, the water contained in these vases could be considered miraculous, a pledge of health, fertility and longevity and in a way related to the cult of the goddess (e.g. the myth of her birth, rites related to 'sacred prostitution' and wedding or funerary functions of the goddess).[271] Hermary has also argued that some of the so-called

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264 The measurements of the complete one: 1.87 m. in height, 3.19 m. in diameter, and more than 12 tons in weight; capacity: 6,000 litres.
265 Hermary 1981, 83–84.
266 Hermary et al. 2006b, 155–160.
267 Hermary 1981, 84; 1993, 185; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 83.
268 Hermary 2000, 774–775.
269 e.g. Vandenabeele 1985; Aupert 1986; Hemary 1987; Bikai 1989; Karageorghis 1995a.
270 Hermary and Masson 1990, 211–214.
271 Hermary 1981, 84; Hermary et al. 2006b, 160.

'Amathous-style' jars bearing the image of 'Hathor', found in the sanctuary and in burial contexts, were probably related to the cult of the goddess and were used for carrying 'miraculous' water.[272] Figurines depicting women carrying jars with liquid, the *hydrophorai*, mainly from the Hellenistic strata of the Amathous sanctuary, might also be connected with the significance of water in the cult.

A small natural grotto,[273] a common element in other cult places of Aphrodite and the Phoenician Astarte in the Mediterranean,[274] has been found several meters southwest of the vases. It was in this spot that the Bichrome krater of the seventh century BC was found (fig. 37).[275] One side of this exceptionally large and decorated ceramic vase depicts two bulls in confrontation. Between the bulls there is an inscription in the Cypro-syllabic script transcribing a word in the Eteocypriot language that cannot be read. On the other side of the krater, another bull is presented opposing a 'tree of life'. The context of this ceramic implies its use in ritual ceremonies. Although the depiction of bulls is a very common and fashionable subject in the pottery decoration of the period, the use of this iconography in conjunction with an inscription is unique. The provenance, size, inscription, decoration and comparison with other finds from Amathous depicting bulls should be considered. According to Hermary, all these documents indicate the importance of the bull in the religion of Amathous.[276]

Behind the grotto a sacrificial area has been uncovered.[277] Some ring-shaped holes may have been used to tether the animals.[278] A canalisation system, necessary for the ritual of sacrifice has also been recorded.[279] A more complex structure intended for sacrifices was constructed towards the end of the Cypro-Archaic/beginning of the Cypro-Classical period and remained in use until the construction, probably in the first century BC, of a

272 Hermary 1997, 160; Aupert 2000c, 25, figs 11, 12. For their relations to the goddesses' cult cf. Fourrier 2009, 99–102.

273 Fourrier and Hermary 2006, pl. 8, no. 7.

274 Hermary 1988, 105; Hermary and Schmid 1996, 118; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 82. It has also recently been proposed that the cave might relate to a cult of a masculine divinity associated with the goddess, i.e. that of Adonis or to the hero-cult of the *Basileus* Onesilos; see Hermary et al. 2006a, 23–24.

275 Hermary and Masson 1990.

276 Hermary in Hermary and Masson 1990, 203–204.

277 Hermary et al. 2006a, 29–31, fig. 19, pl. 7, no. 4.

278 Hermary 2000b; Hermary and Columeau 2006, 181–186.

279 Hermary and Columeau 2006, 186–189.

pavement: a rock enclosure with lines of holes on the ground, most probably for positioning a wooden or metal fence to pen up animals waiting to be sacrificed at an adjoining altar.[280] The skeletal analysis has shown that sheep and goats were consumed more commonly than bovines; the growth of bovine sacrifices during the fifth-fourth centuries BC, however, might be directly related with the prosperity of the Amathousian city-kingdom, as the evidence from the 'palace' has already established; while other animals, such as hares, birds, horses and deer are very rare, pigs are not represented, which is exactly the case of the sanctuary of 'Astarte-Aphrodite' at Tamassos; in addition, the proportion of the bovine and goat/ram figurines found in the sanctuary is analogous to the skeletal remains.[281]

Near the sacrificial area a 'pit' most probably intended for libations of water, honey, wine, oil, milk etc. and other offerings, such as flowers, cereals, fruits, eggs or cakes, has been found.[282] The construction of this 'sacrificial pit' coincides with the rupture of the grotto's use within the fifth century BC and Hermary suggests that the cult practiced in relation to the grotto probably moved to that area; if this is the case, as he argues, those cults could indeed be related with the chthonic cult of Aphrodite or Adonis. A similar function could be attributed to the two cavities created on the rock west of the 'sacrificial pit'; their use however remains problematic, and might also be related to the plantation of sculpted pillars or trees in a banquet area.[283]

Although the excavations at the sanctuary have not produced extensive evidence for artisan activity, as is the case of the Kition shrines for instance, such evidence is not completely absent. Although very unclear, an architectural element, finally interpreted as probably related to libations,[284] for example, could also supply some evidence for a grape or olive press.[285] Additionally, the kiln discussed below might have been built in the late Cypro-Classical period; its chronology and function, however, remain problematic. Most importantly, in the aforementioned grotto, slag has been

280 Hermary and Columeau 2006, 189, figs 20, 495, pl. 48, no. 2.

281 Hemary 2000b, 773–774. For an analysis of the faunal remains cf. Columeau 1996; Hermary and Colomeau 2006. Literary evidence suggests that the sacrifice of pork was forbidden in the cult of Aphrodite: see Hermary and Colomeau 2006, 194.

282 'Autel-*bothros*' in French; see Hermary and Colomeau 2006, 189–192, pl. 11, no. 2.

283 Hermary and Colomeau 2006, 192. For a vivid representation of a banquet in a Cypriot temenos see Karageorghis 2000b and Caubet 2008.

284 Hermary and Colomeau 2006, 192–194, pl. 49, no. 8.

285 Fourrier 2003, 94–95.

found.[286] As Hathor is represented in Amathous—perhaps also in the main sanctuary of the 'acropolis'—it might be useful to note here relevant information which relates to the cult of that goddess.[287]

With regard to Hathor, it does seem that a cave-like structure was usually an essential part of her sanctuaries. Shiel's work on aspects of Mediterranean goddesses,[288] notes the importance of 'caves' in Hathor's cult places in earlier periods; Deir el-Bahri, and Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai are two very good examples, for which quite a lot of evidence is available. Interestingly, outside Cyprus there is sufficient evidence that Hathor was worshipped in connection with foreign lands and on mining sites (such as Serabit el-Khadim), where she was called 'Lady of Mefkat'. Mefkat is usually translated as turquoise but it seems to mean any greenish-blue stone or maybe even metal. Considering that Cyprus was the main Mediterranean centre for the production of bronze, it is important to keep this information in mind.[289] It is also interesting to note that the existence of Hathor capitals with metalworking activity can be noted in the sanctuary of 'Astarte-Aphrodite' at Tamassos.[290] An 'Hathor' capital, found built in the wall of the later Christian complex on the 'acropolis' of Amathous, most probably comes from the sanctuary.

Offerings ranging from the eighth to the fourth century BC contribute to the understanding of the cult: 'Astarte plaques', female figurines with upraised arms, with their hands on their breasts, or holding a fruit or a flower, kore figurines and statuettes, *kourotrophoi*, one 'temple-boy', musicians, horsemen, various worshippers, boat models, chariots, bells, animals (mainly horses, bulls, goats and rams), human and animal masks and sphinxes supporting *thymiateria*.

Two fourth century BC royal dedications verify the importance of the site and its cult. The last *Basileus* of Amathous, Androkles, dedicated statues of his two sons to the goddess. The statues are missing but their bases survive.[291] The first, a stone bilingual inscription written both in Eteocypriot

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[286] Petit 2002, 292, note 19; Hermary and Fourrier 2006b, 112.

[287] For the following information on Hathor outside Cyprus and in earlier periods: personal communication with N. Shiel, March 2007.

[288] Shiel 2007.

[289] cf. Peltenburg 2007 (especially 383) where he discusses Hathor in a Late Cypriot context and Carbillet forthcoming.

[290] Given 1991, 51–53.

[291] A Greek style marble statue of a boy has been found in the 'acropolis' sanctuary not far from the inscription. Hermary (1983, 298; 2000a, 158, no. 999) leaves open the possibility that this statue might represent the young Amathousian prince.

and in alphabetic Greek, reads: "*The Basileus Androkles* [*has dedicated*] *to the Cyprian Aphrodite* [*the images of his sons*] *Orestheus and Andragoras*".[292] This is the earliest identification (in alphabetic script) of the goddess with Aphrodite on the whole island.[293] The other, a bilingual marble inscription in Eteocypriot and Greek again, reads: "*The Basileus Androkles has dedicated to the Cyprian Goddess the receptacle for the offerings and this image of the beauty of his son Orestheus*".[294]

The Hellenistic Period

The two royal inscriptions constitute the last evocative evidence from the sanctuary concerning the era of the Cypriot city-kingdoms. The Hellenistic period is less well-represented. The lack of archaeological visibility has usually been associated with a Ptolemaic donation of the Cypriot cities at Argos, dated to the first half of the second century (170–164 BC).[295] While Kition and Salamis donate 208 *drachmes*, Kourion 172, and Paphos 100, Amathous donates only 41 *drachmes*. Therefore, a decline in economy and prosperity has usually been assumed at Amathous. However, architectural activity in the agora of Amathous, such as the establishment of stoas and a bathing structure (*balaneion*),[296] the presence of funeral *stelai* painted in the Macedonian style of the early Hellenistic period, various burial goods, a gymnasium known from epigraphic evidence and Hellenistic reinforcements of the 'acropolis' walls are only a few examples which suggest that this might not be the case.[297] The neglect of the Amathous port during the Ptolemaic period should rather be related to the new role of Nea Paphos and its port as the main commercial and naval centre.[298] Moreover, the fact that the capital of Cyprus, Paphos, donates less than Salamis and Kition is another reason to reconsider whether the Ptolemaic donation should be regarded as a negative indication about the prosperity of Amathous.

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292 Masson and Hermary 1982; Hermary 1984, 269. For the translation into English, see: Karageorghis, J. 2005, 85.

293 There is also a Cypro-syllabic inscription from Kythraia referring to the Paphian Aphrodite: see Masson 1961, 259, no. 234; cf. Budin 2004, 109, note 45; Karageorghis 2010, 12–13.

294 Hellmann and Hermary 1980, 259–266; Hermary 1984, 269. For the translation into English, see: Karageorghis, J. 2005, 85. Hermary et al. (2006b, 152–154) has suggested that this dedication might be related either to the practice of a 'sacred wedding' or 'sacred prostitution'.

295 Aupert 1982; 1996b, 54.

296 Prête 2007.

297 For further discussion see Mehl 2000, 715–716.

298 Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993; Empereur 1995.

The lack of large scale architectural renovation during the early Hellenistic period does not necessarily imply neglect. Equally, this could be explained as evidence for continuity and prosperity of the site and the cult. The spatial distribution of the sanctuary would have remained unchanged, and existing elements such as the giant vases would have kept their prominent importance. However, the lack of abundant early Ptolemaic religious elements could be connected with a late active political involvement on the site in the Hellenistic II period, as suggested in the sacred landscapes chapter. 'Common people', naturally, continue to visit and dedicate in the sanctuary.

Some early Hellenistic stone sculptures, mainly female statues and statuettes,[299] and more than a thousand fragments of terracotta figurines[300] found on the 'acropolis' confirm this continuity. More specifically, the majority of these figurines have been found in the deposit *MX* 318, located in front of the 'palace' and next to the '*Propylon*' sanctuary. Two interpretations have been suggested. Either the figurines in the deposit originally came from the summit sanctuary, although the distance between the sanctuary and the deposit is considerable (300 m),[301] or their deposition there represents continuity and memory of the political and religious importance of the place, even after the destruction of the 'palace'.[302] The truth is that we cannot be certain. It should be mentioned, however, that stylistically similar types have been found in the sanctuary. Nonetheless, no Isis figurine has been found on the 'acropolis' sanctuary. The Hellenistic figurines mainly represent female divinities and votaries: Aphrodite, Isis, Artemis, *kourotrophoi*, musicians, veiled dancers, *hydrophorai*, females with veiled hands and draped females. Male figurines include Eros, the Dioscuri, Attis and priests of Isis. We also have some figurines of infants and children of unclear gender. Finally, some animal figurines, mainly bovines, have been found.

Although scarce, traces of production have again been recorded. The kiln referred to above functioned for a limited period, sometime between the late fourth/early third century BC and the end of the Hellenistic period.[303]

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299 Hermary 1994a, 119–120; 2000a, 157–162.

300 Aupert 1981, 373–392; Queyrel 1988, for a detailed study of all the figurines found on the 'acropolis'. Later finds have been included as a supplement in Hermary 2000a, 110–112.

301 However, the long distance from the top of the 'acropolis' and the lack of Isis figurines in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, might suggest that the figurines come from another, unlocated sanctuary; Queyrel 1988, 29–30; Hermary and Schmid 1996, 121–122.

302 Hermary 2000a, 166; Petit 2002, 290.

303 Hermary et al. 2006a, 31–37, fig. 26; *BCH* 118(2): 481.

It is very close to this kiln that most of the Tanagra style figurines have been found. It has, therefore, been suggested that those figurines were possibly produced and deposited within the sanctuary itself.[304] More recently, however, a more systematic study of the evidence has led to the suggestion that, most probably, this kiln was not related to a terracotta workshop, but instead to the production of construction material, such as tiles for the buildings of the late Hellenistic period.[305] Moreover, even if stratigraphic evidence justifying the existence of a terracotta workshop within the sanctuary is lacking, some jewellery production—Roman however—might have existed in the sanctuary.[306]

The increase in sacrifices from the Cypro-Classical (24%) to the Hellenistic (33%) period should be noted as an extra indicator of the prosperity of the sanctuary. On the other hand, the decrease in bovine sacrifices from the Cypro-Classical (42%) to the Hellenistic (21%) period could be considered as a further probable indication about the use and importance of bulls in the religion of Amathous, especially during the city-kingdom era.

An honorific inscription, dated on palaeographic grounds to the end of the third/beginning of the second century BC, has been found very close to the sanctuary:[307] the city of the Amathousians dedicated a statue of Timonax son of Aristagoras for his *eunoia* towards king Ptolemy. The most important epigraphic evidence, however, comes from a second century BC inscription on a limestone slab which has been found on the site.[308] A high-ranking official of unidentifiable name had dedicated an offering, probably a building, in favour of the king Ptolemy VIII. The inscription reads: "*To Sarapis, Isis, Aphrodite* [*and*] *the temple-sharing gods, on behalf of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, his sister, and queen Cleopatra, his wife, divine Euergetai, and their children S*[----] [*of the first*] *friends*".[309] As discussed below in detail, however, in view of a *vacat* which is not repeated between Isis and Aphrodite, some scholars prefer the restoration 'Isis-Aphrodite' rather than 'Isis and Aphrodite'.

304 Hermary 2000a, 110–111, no. 745.
305 Hermary et al. 2006a, 36–37; cf. Sørensen 2007, 431.
306 Laffineur 1986, 118–121; Hermary et al. 2006a, 38.
307 Hellmann and Hermary 1980, 266–268; *SEG* 30 (1980), no. 1572.
308 Hellmann and Hermary 1980, 268–272. For a later restitution, after the discovery of another piece of the same inscription, see Hermary and Schmid 1987, 736–739.
309 For the translation into English I am thankful to P. Keen. For a discussion on the assimilation of Isis-Aphrodite and the *synnaoi theoi* see *SEG* 38 (1988), nos 1500–1501.

The first important architectural construction and rearrangement of the space inside the sanctuary takes place in the Hellenistic II period, in the first century BC. Within the interior of the later Roman temple, elements of a Hellenistic Doric portico, one of the main characteristics of Hellenistic period architecture,[310] have been located:[311] the existence of either two porticos or of a double one has thus been suggested.[312] Fragments of the colonnade and bases have been found *in situ* or reused in later buildings.

The construction of other Roman structures, particularly of the imposing Roman temple in the first century AD, and later that of the Early Christian basilica in the late sixth/early seventh century AD have made the study and interpretation of the site even more difficult, especially when one considers that the temple was built exactly on top of the Hellenistic structures, reducing to their foundation any constructions beneath.[313] However, evidence from the Roman temple, where Nabatean capitals have been used, might reveal the central role of Ptolemaic Egypt in the prevailing sacred architecture of Amathous even in later periods.[314]

3.3.4. *The 'Subterranean Cult Place'*

A tunnel, accidentally discovered in the lower city during the construction of modern sanitation works, could shed more light when trying to understand the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* through the archaeology of religion.[315] As the tunnel is not accessible, we have to rely on the excavation reports. This discovery offers important material evidence, namely an undisturbed deposit (in secondary deposition) dating from the fifth-first centuries BC, with its greatest activity between the fourth and third centuries BC, which is precisely the period of the transition. The chronologies are based firstly on stylistic analysis and artefact correlations, and secondly on numismatic evidence.

The published material from the tunnel[316] comprises a most challenging case through which the enquiries of this project regarding the involvement of Cyprus in the so-called Hellenistic cultural and religious *koine* should

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310 Smith 1993, 154; Chamoux 2003, 271–276.
311 Hermary et al. 2006a, 38–45, fig. 30.
312 Hermary et al. 2006a, figs 37, 503. For reconstructions see Schmid 2006.
313 Schmid 1988; Hermary 1994c; Pralong and Saulnier 2000, 81.
314 Aupert and Hermary 1985, 234; Hermary and Schmid 1985, 286.
315 Flourentzos 2004, 4, fig. 2.
316 Flourentzos 2004.

be addressed. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the inclusion of so many objects related to so many different cults in a deposit which covers such a long period, raises many issues, which, unfortunately, cannot be answered by the archaeological context. Should the interpretation of a sacred space within the tunnel be accepted? This is a very good question which unfortunately, in my opinion, cannot receive an adequate answer. Let us examine, however, what the structure and the material discovered within it can reveal.

The tunnel is 120 m. in length, about 2.5 m. in width and of 4 m. in height and it was designed to cross the hill of the 'acropolis'. Its size is sufficient to allow people to stand or congregate there. At about the centre of the path, an opening was carved through the rock to allow fresh air into the tunnel. Most importantly, at the north edge of the tunnel three cuttings on the east wall were created in order to accept lamps for the lighting of the place.[317] According to the excavator, the entrance of the tunnel might be found in the south end providing access to a chthonic or mystery cult, related with a fountain.[318] Although a natural source of water has not yet been identified, he sees a *Nymphaeum* within the tunnel, mainly because of its direct association with the basins and *krenai* of the later Roman *Nymphaeum*.[319]

If this is the case, this is a discovery of much greater significance than has been hitherto recognised. This tunnel should probably have been associated with the unique case of the natural grotto of Kafizin, dedicated to the Nymph, and where the Ptolemaic queen, Arsinoe, has a prominent role. Even if nowadays we distinguish between artificial and natural caves, one needs to consider that the emphasis of ancient people was probably on the function and symbolism of the cave, rather than on their visual aspect.[320] If this interpretation and the tunnel's association with the later basins are accepted, the power of water as a cleansing element is again present. Nymphs lived in grottos or springs and they were often the attendants of a goddess or of another Nymph of higher status. Their usual companions were satyrs, and deities such as Pan, Zeus, Apollo, Hermes and Dionysus. As seen below, the presence of some of these companions are directly

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317 Flourentzos 2004, pl. 1, no. 1.

318 Flourentzos 2000, 43; 2004, 32, 36.

319 Flourentzos 2004, 32–33. For Aupert (2009, 33), the relation of the tunnel with the fountains of the agora, although plausible, remains problematic.

320 Ustinova 2009, 154.

or indirectly attested in the deposit. Recently, the chthonic connections of these deities to the cult of the Nymphs in caves or the relation of caves to divination, oracles or even mystery elements have been clearly established by Ustinova.[321]

The tunnel may also be compared with the so-called sanctuary of Apollo at Toumballos at Nea Paphos ('Garrison's Camp').[322] In contrast to the architecture of the subterranean place at Amathous, however, the Paphos sanctuary reveals a noteworthy complex excavated in the rock, consisting of a long access dromos and a staircase leading down to underground rooms and corridors. The supposed similarity to the Apollo *Hylates* hypogeum led to the attachment of the name 'Apollo Sanctuary' to the complex, but this term should not be treated as anything more than that.[323] Nicolaou was inclined to locate the garrison buildings above the hypogeum, due to its close proximity to the 'acropolis' wall and the north city gate; he therefore believed the hypogeum to have been a camp sanctuary and, thus, he called it 'Garrison's Camp'.[324] In his opinion, this sanctuary might have been dedicated to Isis or Sarapis that were introduced on the island during the Hellenistic period.

According to Młynarczyk, however, the Toumballos complex is far too large and well-planned to have been just a camp sanctuary and, based on the architecture, she concludes that this hypogeum should be regarded as a cult place associated with chthonic elements and most probably accompanied with mysteries or an oracle.[325] As she argues, the presence of corridors, many passages, and rows of chambers could suggest a rich ritual, 'processional in nature'; architectural features creating darkness (which usually express complete isolation from the world of the living) are in place in the Toumballos sanctuary and they are comparable with the *Nekromanteion* of fourth/third century BC Epirus, and the Alexandrian *Sarapeum*. In addition, in Młynarczyk's interpretation, architectural elements resemble features from Eleusis, which hid access to the underground rooms from the sight of the faithful and thus contributed to increasing the mystery of the cult. At present, considering the continuous reuse of the site up to Christian times, and the extant finds, it is impossible to identify the cult in the

321 Ustinova 2009.
322 Nicolaou 1966, 585, fig. 19.
323 Młynarczyk 1990, 229; Giudice 1992, 205.
324 Nicolaou 1966, 587–588.
325 Młynarczyk 1990, 229–232.

Toumballos sanctuary. The systematic investigations by the Italian expedition of Catania University have not yet managed to shed further light on the pre-Christian cults.[326]

The Amathous tunnel could also be compared with the aforementioned hypogeum at Nea Paphos, a rock-cut structure dedicated to Apollo *Hylates* as the evidence from two Cypro-syllabic inscriptions confirm.[327] Comparisons with the sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros, a well-established oracular centre, have led modern scholars to suggest that oracular activities were perhaps performed at the site.[328] The person who left the dedications was a dignitary at the court of Nikokles, the last *Basileus* of Paphos, who made every effort to emphasise his Hellenic connections.[329] The dedicant states that he accomplished the cutting of 'the entry to this cave' on the divine command. This, according to Ustinova, implies that he was chosen to experience a live contact with the deity, thus the association of the hypogeum with inspired vision is beyond question.[330] This information is quite important considering the following discussion on the involvement of the political elites with religious ideology, and the suggestion that the Cypriot city-kingdoms shared the same cultural system.

Let us, however, return to the Amathous subterranean place, where the architectural complexity of the Toumballos complex and epigraphic evidence similar to that from the *Hylates* hypogeum are absent. To this date, there are no parallels for such a long cave-like structure from the island. Next to the following interpretation we have to consider that even if a cult was related to the tunnel, its primary function might have been more practical, e.g. a place of refuge or a water reservoir. Additionally, we have to rethink the double function attributed to the tunnel by the excavator, both as a cultic place and a water reservoir: if one accepts his interpretation that this tunnel was a source of water for the city until the fourth century AD,[331] how could part of it have also physically functioned as a sacred place? Unless, if this tunnel was indeed a water reservoir dedicated to one deity or more, and the cultic material, even if related to the site, was originally deposited in a place outside the tunnel: it should be noted that the finds were not lying

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326 Giudice and Giudice 1998.

327 Młynarczyk 1980; 1990, 76–85; cf. Masson, Michaelides and Callot 1988.

328 Młynarczyk 1980, 245, note 7; Ustinova 2009, 119.

329 Młynarczyk 1980, 244–245; 248–249; Ustinova 2009, 119, note 411.

330 Ustinova 2009, 119.

331 Flourentzos 2004, 36.

in their original position, but were transferred and deposited there from elsewhere.[332] While the excavator suggests that they come from another part or parts of the tunnel,[333] we cannot exclude the possibility that the finds could have originated from any other part of the area. Stratigraphic evidence is completely missing, and it is obvious that the objects were transferred there some time after the first century BC for reasons that cannot be identified. What is evident, however, is the fact that the objects definitely represent a deposit from a sacred space, and should therefore be treated as evidence that could offer important information about the cult practices of the period. Let us therefore briefly examine the finds themselves and consider whether they can be related to their final subterranean context, and also, what evidence can be provided about the cult, especially in relation to the excavator's interpretation about chthonic or mystery cults.

A limestone altar with traces of fire is the first confirmation of the sacred value of the finds. These also include male and female stone statuettes holding offerings usually interpreted as fruits, flowers or bread, musicians holding a lyre or a *trigonon*, a flute or most commonly a *tympanon*, 'temple-boys', Tanagra style statuettes and figurines, seated females holding fruits, wreathed male and female statuettes, female statuettes and figurines with covered heads, female *hydrophorai* and *kourotrophoi* figurines, child statuettes and figurines. Sphinx *thymiateria*, such as those seen in the 'palace' and in the Aphrodite sanctuary, and stone basins have also been found. Ceramic pots most probably contained food offerings for consumption during the ritual. Remains of fish bones have also been found. Additionally, a necklace depicting the Horus eye (*ujat*) and sea-shells found in the deposit should be considered when trying to identify the cults that this deposit represents. A spherical stone object interpreted as an *omphalos*, a very unusual feature for a Cypriot sanctuary, should be noted.[334] Of significant importance are the cock statuette and knucklebone (*astragalos*) game, which are also found in burial contexts, and also a unique limestone group depicting two 'temple-boys' sitting behind a snake (fig. 38), probably with chthonic or healing associations.[335] It has to be remembered, however, that we are far from understanding the exact function of the Cypriot 'temple-boys'. This

332 Flourentzos 2004, 5, fig. 3 and pl. III, no. 2.
333 Flourentzos 2004, 3.
334 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XIX, no. 83.
335 Lembke, 2004, 149; Counts 2006a, 683.

specific sculpture could possibly be compared with examples depicting Heracles strangling the snake sent by Hera.[336] The subterranean tunnel 'temple-boys' group might actually depict Heracles sitting next to his brother, Iphicles. This interpretation actually strengthens Petit's recent argument about the direct relationship of the image of Heracles and the Cypriot 'temple-boys'.[337] I suggest that Cypriot 'temple-boys' could have had multiple meanings and functions: one of them, under the 'hellenising' environment of the period, might have been their association with the image of Heracles in Greek mythology. Two final points should be kept in mind as we carry on with the investigation of the 'subterranean cult place'. Firstly, from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period, the number of limestone votives decreases over time, and this phenomenon might have to do with the direct relationship of the large-scale crafts with the elites. Secondly, as we proceed into the Hellenistic period, with the exception of deities and the priests of Isis, male stone and terracotta types are almost completely absent from the deposit.

The study of the deities found could further illuminate the cult. A fifth/fourth century BC torso statuette with a ram has been interpreted as 'Baal'.[338] A statue interpreted as 'Baal-Ammon' has also been found in the area of Amathous.[339] Two inscriptions from the city-kingdom of Amathous confirm the existence of the Baal theonym,[340] but the iconographic features of the deity are very difficult to interpret. Similar ram-horned deities have also usually been interpreted as Zeus-Ammon, which is also assimilated to the Cypriot-Heracles and later to Pan.[341] Since this ram-horned god appears to be related both with royalty and the pastoral dimension of local cult activity, and since both Zeus and Pan are associated with Nymphs in their Greek context, this information is quite important. Representations of a ram-horned, anthropomorphic deity found on early fifth century BC Cypriot coins,[342] as well as a detailed study of the iconography and diffusion of the type, suggests its important role within the context of Cypriot votive religion.[343]

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336 e.g. Godwin 1981, fig. 25.
337 Petit 2007b.
338 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XVIII, no. 78.
339 Hermary 1981, 20, no. 9.
340 Aupert 1996b, 27.
341 Counts 2004.
342 Hill 1964, pl. XIII, 9–10.
343 For further analysis on these issues see Counts 2004; 2006b; 2009.

Additionally, considering our following discussion on the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus found in Amathous, the complex network of interactions between Bes and Baal in a Cypriot context,[344] should be kept in mind.

A very interesting Hellenistic terracotta figurine depicting a Silenus, a companion of Dionysus, has been found in the deposit.[345] The cult of this god became particularly popular in Ptolemaic Alexandria, since the Ptolemies considered themselves to be descendants of Dionysus, the god of theatre, mystic ecstasy and power. During his worship, the spirits of the earth and of fecundity appeared, their likenesses evoked by masks. Dionysus is also a saviour god. He rescued Ariadne, left in Naxos by Theseus, and he also persuaded Hades to release his mother Semele from the underworld. As discussed earlier, a number of inscriptions inform us of the existence of the guild of the Dionysiac artists, most probably directly related with the ruler cult, in Cyprus. A very rare type to be found in a Cypriot sacred context is a Hellenistic figurine, most probably depicting an actor wearing a mask.[346] Some evidence for *Dionysiaca* in Cyprus already exists from the fifth century BC and may have been associated with the Bes-like Cypriot god.[347] However, the evidence from the deposit is very limited and it would be speculative to press these points further.

The 'Cypriot Goddess' is also present in the deposit. Two fifth century BC 'Astarte-Aphrodite' figurines and three Hellenistic Aphrodite figurines (types further examined below) have been found. Next to Aphrodite, we should place the Hellenistic figurine depicting the god Eros riding a goat.[348] However, there is no secure funereal significance.

Two other limestone torsoes have been associated on iconographic grounds (mainly the pose), with Artemis[349] and with Demeter or Persephone respectively.[350] The presence of Artemis among the tunnel finds becomes clearer from a Hellenistic figurine discussed below in relation to the terracotta figurines. However, although it would significantly add to the chthonic element of the subterranean cult, I would be cautious in the identification

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344 Tassignon 2009.
345 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXIX, no. 136.
346 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXXII, no. 152.
347 Karageorghis 1984; Petit 2004a, 61; 2006, 71–72.
348 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXX, no. 143.
349 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XIII, no. 39.
350 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XV, no. 56.

of Demeter/Persephone in the absence of any clear attributes. Nonetheless, it has to be said that the cults of Demeter and Persephone are attested in Cyprus already by the Cypro-Classical period by a digraphic inscription from Kourion.[351]

Although Isis is not represented in the material from the tunnel, the presence of two male figurines with shaved heads allude to her.[352] Similar types have been found in the deposit *MX* 318 and are interpreted by Queyrel as priests of Isis based on comparative iconographic evidence from Egypt (fig. 58).[353] As established in the Soloi section, in a Greek context Isis was compared to Demeter who searched for her daughter, abducted by Hades, god of the underworld. Within the 'religious syncretism' of the Hellenistic period, Isis represented the female principle. As goddess of magic, she controlled the transformation of things and beings, and the elements. Among other qualities, she is associated with death, health, healing and immortality, all of specific importance when trying to extract chthonic elements from the deposit. She is a mother and guardian and in Amathous, as further discussed below, she was obviously connected with the local goddess, at least towards the end of the Hellenistic period. It is important to note here that subterranean crypts with long underground and dark passages are regular features of Isiac religion; according to Ustinova these structures may have served as images of the underworld, where divine images were revealed to the initiate.[354]

Next to Artemis, her brother Apollo is represented in two Hellenistic terracotta figurines in his hellenised form, holding his lyre.[355] Also, another figurine, probably depicting a companion of Apollo, i.e. Muse holding a lyre,[356] was found in the tunnel. The connection or the assimilation of Apollo with a time-honoured Cypriot god is first epigraphically attested during the fourth century BC at the hypogeum of Apollo *Hylates* at Nea Paphos, and as mentioned above is probably connected with the strong 'hellenised' Cypro-Classical identities.[357] The presence of a Greek style Apollo within the tunnel

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351 Masson 1961, 196–197, no. 182.

352 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXVIII, no. 132.

353 Queyrel 1988, 119–120. For the existence of such statues see Charbonneaux 1973, 312, no. 339.

354 Ustinova 2009, 249.

355 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXVII, no. 129 and pl. XXXI, no. 147.

356 Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXIX, no. 138.

357 cf. Glover (1981, 149) where he regards Appolo in relation to the re-establishment of close cultural ties with the Greek mainland in the second half of the fifth century BC.

could sufficiently explain the presence of the stone *omphalos* mentioned above, definitely a hellenic influence for Cyprus. Apollo, the god of music, is also related with Nymphs in mythology. It has been emphasised in the landscapes chapter how Ptolemaic queens, and especially Arsinoe *Philadelphus*, the cult of which is probably attested a few meters southwest of the tunnel's entrance,[358] were related to the Nymphs. What might additionally be stressed here, especially if the figurines do indeed originate from within the subterranean tunnel, is the oracular capacity of Apollo and his capacity to be a saviour and protector of the dead. Apollo's oracular cult was practiced in natural or artificial caves.[359] Additionally, in the second/first centuries BC, new religious ideas from Pythagoreanism combined with Platonic, Peripatetic and Stoic elements, and accommodated to contemporary religious tendencies, developed in the Mediterranean, and especially in Alexandria. Apollo, as the mythical father of Pythagoras, gradually became the god of the Orphic religion, and with his name was associated a whole system of thought which promised safety and eternal life to its initiates.[360] Philosophical ideas of the period stress the release of the soul from the body in the solitude of a cave or an underground structure.[361] Of course, I acknowledge that we do not have evidence which supports the arrival of such mystery cults in Cyprus, but such ideas were definitely starting to arrive on the island through the so-called Hellenistic cultural and religious *koine*, which certainly influenced Cypriot religious ideas. It is important to mention here that *omphaloi* are found in prophetic caves in Greece and Asia Minor, where Apollo was worshiped together with the Nymphs.[362] Nonetheless, in tandem with Cypro-Classical evidence of Apollo *Hylates* discussed here, we should note that already by the fourth century BC, the last *Basileus* of Paphos minted silver coins depicting Apollo seated on his *omphalos*. Additionally, the Cypriot capacity of Apollo and the blending of the Cypriot and mainland Greek traditions are also alluded to by the presence of a number of 'temple-boys' within the sacred material from the tunnel.

Concluding this section with reference to those qualities of Apollo and Arsinoe *Philadelphus*, it should be said that the discussion of this material leaves open the question of chthonic qualities attributed to the cults that

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358 Flourentzos 2007d.
359 Ustinova 2009, 109–153.
360 Dillon 1977.
361 Ustinova 2009, 177–217.
362 Ustinova 2009, 61–62.

are represented, even if we cannot be sure that the tunnel was the primary place of deposition. Aupert suggests that one should also consider a failed attempt to find water and transformation of the original target.[363] Passage through darkness conceived as a tunnel or a cave is one of the modules of 'near-death experiences' or 'out-of-body journeys', both important elements of oracular, chthonic and mystery religions.[364] Returning from the material to the architectural evidence of the Amathous tunnel, if one accepts the interpretation of the excavator that the three cuttings on the east wall were created in order to accept lamps for the lighting of the place, we have an illustration of Ustinova's interpretation about underground structures as entrances to the netherworld: after 120 metres of walking in darkness questing for the divine truth the pilgrim reaches the 'light of life'.

3.3.5. *'Syncretism' of Cults, Power and Ideology*

The material and architectural evidence of the Amathousian cult has so far been presented. However, it is still necessary to relate this record more clearly to the main concerns of this project. What is the tension between political agency, ideology and religion? How can the horizon of the transition, through the evidence provided by the archaeological record of cult, be approached and related to social power? What is the character of the incorporation of Cyprus in the so-called cultural and religious *koine*? These concerns will be approached under two headings which I believe could help us gradually construct the social context of the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* at Amathous: 1. 'Reading' terracotta figurines. 2. Royalty and ideology.

'Reading' Terracotta Figurines

The discovery and publication of a great number of votive figurines from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic period at Amathous has been an additional reason to recommend the site as a case study. The Amathousian corpus of votive terracottas provides a good opportunity to examine the levels at which foreign influences in types, styles and cult were transmitted and transformed. Keeping in mind the direct relationship of sanctuary

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[363] Aupert 2009, 34. Nonetheless, the author notes that there are no any other similar constructions on the island related to water; in his opinion, therefore, the question remains without a convincing answer.

[364] Ustinova 2009, 261.

and tomb, and the importance of cult and ritual in burial ceremonies, terracotta figurines from funerary contexts will also be considered. The material under discussion, however, comes mainly from the 'palace', the sanctuary of Aphrodite, the 'subterranean cult place', deposit *MX* 318, and the 'Western Terrace', where the figurines belong either to the principal sanctuary or to another sanctuary which has not yet been located.[365]

As shown below, there has been considerable discussion about the provenance, technique, workshops, typologies, chronological groupings and significance of Cypriot terracottas, but as far as can be ascertained, only in a few circumstances has an effort been made to interpret patterns of continuity and change of the local cultural and religious tradition in relation to the Hellenistic *koine*.[366] It should be borne in mind from the beginning, that, since terracotta figurines can be used in so many different ways in various archaeological contexts,[367] this is a very problematic and complex area of study. The aspect of human self-awareness which the figurines vibrantly express can be critical; nonetheless, figurines usually encode important cognitive elements, and ultimately, one cannot avoid the question of belief.[368] Due to the inexpensive nature of their material and their suitability for mass production, the coroplastic arts could appeal to a wide audience.[369] It should therefore be accepted that terracotta figurines, mainly those used as ex-votos or grave-goods, are expected to reflect the religious and cultural ideas of the periods under examination, and, indeed, they could provide an excellent means of examining elements of continuity, interruption and innovation.

Miller-Ammerman has analysed what can be learnt about Hellenistic religions by studying the terracottas themselves:[370] figurines related to a sanctuary are usually found in a votive deposit, traditionally interpreted as representing the burial of older or damaged votive gifts. Only rarely is a figurine discovered in its original position of dedication. Comparison with other Hellenistic sites has shown that votive figurines could be prominently

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365 Hermary 2000a, 7. It is also possible that the material from the 'Western Terrace' comes from the 'palace': Fourrier 2008a, 119, note 8.

366 The best accounts have been given by Connelly 1990a and 1991. For a more recent, primarily technological and typological/stylistic study though, see Vandenabeele 2007.

367 Besques 1990, 8.

368 Hamilton et al. 1996, 281.

369 Uhlenbrock 1990a, 14.

370 Miller-Ammerman 1990, 42–44.

displayed as tangible monuments of devotion, or used as part of the cult apparatus of sacrifice, usually as a substitute for the live animal, in the case of animal figurines. Sometimes a figurine may indicate its own use in a cult setting. Additionally, terracotta figurines often provide images of the divine, or of the cult participants themselves.[371] It is worth noting that during the Hellenistic period, with the 'secularisation' and 'rationalisation' of religion, already observed in the landscapes chapter, the representation of the human image in terracottas, generally speaking, becomes more common than before in the Mediterranean. In some cases, the votaries are shown in religious action, such as the act of prayer, carrying ritual objects in religious processions, or in ecstatic modes of worship (dancing and playing musical instruments). Terracottas found in domestic or funerary settings may have often had symbolic associations that went beyond the purely secular, decorative, practical or funerary.[372]

By 'reading' the terracotta figurines in this section, I aim to explore how the spread of the so-called Hellenistic *koine* models affected the Cypriot tradition. Does this suggest a blanket acceptance of forms in uniformity with the artistic repertoire of Alexandria, especially in a place like Cyprus, which had a very ancient and distinguished coroplastic tradition? How are cultural and religious meanings expressed through this artistic production? In addition, could any changes in the figurines repertoire be associated with socio-political change? 'Reading' terracotta figurines will set the ground for the next section, i.e. royalty and ideology from *Basileis* to *Strategos*. It is appropriate for this work to follow the production and development of Cypriot terracottas from the long Iron Age Cypriot tradition to the Hellenistic period.

Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Terracotta Figurines

The discussion will start with the figurines that have been associated with the Cypriot 'Great Goddess'.[373] Some examples of the type of 'goddess with upraised arms', with a headdress, a cylindrical body and breasts in relief, dating to the seventh-sixth centuries BC have been found both on the 'acropolis'

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371 In the case of Cyprus the divine aspect of terracotta types becomes more certain in the Cypro-Classical/Hellenistic periods and reflects Greek conceptions: see Fourrier and Queyrel 1998, 560–561; Vandenabeele 2001.

372 For a general overview of the symbolic aspect of the Hellenistic figurines see Burn and Higgins 2001, 20–21.

373 The identification, distribution and interpretation of the majority of the following city-kingdom types in Cypriot sanctuaries in general are discussed in Ulbrich 2008, 65–102 and 2010. For the distribution of these types particularly in the Amathousian santuaries see Ulbrich 2008, 263–283.

and in the necropolis (fig. 39).[374] Details of dress and its ornaments and jewellery, considered to be specific to Astarte, are usually highlighted with black and red paint. These figurines have usually been interpreted either as the goddess herself or as her priestesses in a ritual gesture.[375] In any case, this type, along with the images of 'priests' wearing bull masks described below, indicate the presence of a transformed indigenous religion, similar to that practiced at the Bronze Age Paphos and Kition.[376]

The most common type consists of sixth-fifth century BC moulded figurines representing a naked woman with emphasised sexual attributes (fig. 40).[377] Similar limestone statuettes have been found in a Cypriot context.[378] The 'goddess' holds or presses her breasts; her pubis is painted and rendered by an incised triangle and a vulva. In a Near Eastern context, this type of nude female has generally been associated with the goddess Ishtar in her 'fertility aspect', or as one of her sacred prostitutes, an interpretation however which is problematic according to Bahrani.[379] Most of the Amathousian figurines, again, wear heavy jewellery, such as necklaces with a disc-and-crescent pendant, earrings, bracelets or ankle-rings painted in black and red. Their hair is plaited to resemble palm leaves. These figurines have a flat back and are therefore called 'Astarte plaques'. They have been found in the principal sanctuary, in the 'palace' and in tombs. Comparative study has led modern scholars concerned with iconographic borrowings to associate them with the Phoenician goddess Astarte.[380]

Examination of textual and epigraphic evidence, and iconographic parallels suggest that the character of the 'Cypriot Goddess' was of great complexity and the various aspects of her persona argue at least for an influence from Near Eastern goddesses, among them Astarte.[381] Budin, however, considers the long-held belief that Aphrodite was the Greek version of the Phoenician Astarte and concludes that the persona of the Levantine goddess Astarte does not correlate with that of the Greek Aphrodite; she there-

374 Karageorghis 1998b, 7–8; Hermary 2000a, 19; Ulbrich 2008, 67–70.
375 Karageorghis 1998b, 1–17; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 92.
376 Budin 2004, 117.
377 Karageorghis, J. 1999, 8–28; Hermary 2000a, 82–91; Ulbrich 2008, 67–77.
378 Hermary 1989a, 395, nos 805–806.
379 Bahrani 2001, 83.
380 e.g. Karageorghis, J. 1977, 206; 1999, 1–2; 2002, 163–164; 2005, 92–95; 2007, 339; Sophocleous 1985b, 94–96; Vandenabeele 1985, 203–205.
381 Serwint, 2002; Ulbrich 2008, 73.

fore suggests that the contemporary cults of the 'Paphian' Aphrodite and Astarte in Cyprus and the conflation of the two deities in Classical literature caused both goddesses to be viewed as the 'Goddess of Cyprus'.[382] A later third century BC Phoenician inscription from Paphos saying 'I offered a lock of hair to Astarte of Paphos' has usually been neglected by modern scholarship.[383] This is indeed a key inscription commemorating the complexity of the Cypriot religious 'syncretisms', and particularly of the 'Cypriot Goddess' and her persona, even throughout the Hellenistic period. The presentation and the complexity of the overall argument regading the Aphrodite-Astarte 'syncretisms' would lead us out of the scope of this monograph. Suffice it to say that the Paphian, in Budin's words, probably had "more in common with her Phoenician counterpart than her Greek manifestation".[384] It is important to note, however, that female figurines in similar gestures are found in the Late Bronze Age Cypriot context.[385] I would therefore agree with Hermary that the identification of these figurines with Astarte is often misleading.[386]

The deposition of these figurines in tombs, probably as amulets accompanying and protecting the dead in the afterlife, might further reinforce their divine aspect.[387] The considerable number of boat models found both in sanctuary and burial context in Amathous might also be related to that character of the goddess, or to her relationship to sea-faring.[388] Some scholars relate those models to legends related to Kinyras, and do not support the idea that they were placed in tombs to provide transportation for the dead to the underworld, but rather that they were related to the interests of the dead.[389] There are also cases where such boats could have served as toys or votive offerings. All the interpretations are in keeping with the multiple functions of figurines analysed before.

Shrine models found in funerary contexts might also represent the same 'goddess' standing at the entrance or the window.[390] On the top of the shrine's recess, a disc-and-crescent symbol is depicted. These models have

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382 Budin 2003; 2004.
383 Masson and Sznycer 1972, 81–86; cf. Mehl 2000, 730–731.
384 Budin 2004, 101.
385 Karageorghis 1993, 26–30.
386 Hermary 2000a, 82. Also, for problems in the identification of the goddess see Sophocleous 1985b, 93 and Ulbrich 2008, 73–75.
387 Karageorghis, J. 2005, 94.
388 Hermary 2000a, 48–54, pl. 20.
389 Basch 1987, 270; Karageorghis 1996, 72–73; Steffy 1996, 91.
390 Karageorghis 1996, 57–67; 2005, 95, fig. 90b. For the discussion of this iconography and cult in a Cypriot context cf. Washbourne 1999 and Callot 2002.

usually been associated with the cult of 'sacred prostitution',[391] but also with death and rebirth.[392] It has to be said that a similar fragment of a shrine model found on the top of the 'acropolis' might suggest that these models, like the boats, were not only funerary objects. 'Sacred prostitution' as a cultic practice however, should probably be rethought: Budin highlights the prejudices imparted into the ancient texts by modern scholarship and aims to undermine it as a concept.[393]

A considerable number of seventh-fourth century BC figurines made in the *snowman* technique has been found:[394] figures with one hand to the mouth, a very common attitude for adorants in the Near East; female figures with one or both hands on their breasts in an attitude which probably imitates the aforementioned moulded figurines; only one female figurine of the type of the worshipper holding an offering (animal), but other male figurines of this type exist; figures with the left arm raised and the right arm down beside the body; figures with both hands at the middle of the body; and finally, one figurine of the *kourotrophos* type, representing a female holding an infant in her left arm and raising her right hand to her mouth in an attitude of adoration.

Nevertheless, the most common type in this technique, together with the moulded 'Astarte' figurines and later, the kore type, consists of a number of figurines holding a circular object (fig. 41).[395] They have been found in great quantities both in tombs and on the 'acropolis'. Since their breasts are not indicated, their sex is not explicit, but Hermary, and both Vassos and Jacqueline Karageorghis tend to regard them as females.[396] There are yet, however, major difficulties regarding the identification of the sex of these figurines. While other similar figurines have been interpreted as males,[397] the majority of these figurines have been identified as female "because the facial charac-

391 For 'sacred prostitution' see Strong 1997; Serwint 2002, 331.
392 Strong 1997, 63–64; Washbourne 1999; Mehl 2000, 733–735.
393 Budin 2004, 102; 2006; 2008.
394 Hermary 2000a, 22–47.
395 Karageorghis 1998b, 30–33. Hermary 2000a, 22–26.
396 Karageorghis 1998b, 30; Hermary 2000a, 22–26; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 97. Many of these figurines had pellet breasts that broke off. Additionally, sometimes the disc is quite large and it would be difficult to fit the breasts above it (information supplied by Ulbrich). So, according to Ulbrich (personal communication, March 2010) the missing breasts are not an indication for them not being female.
397 i.e. Karageorghis 1995b, 13, nos 4, 10.

teristics of the figures seem more female than male".[398] On some figurines, belonging to the tambourine category, the decoration in black and red is still preserved and therefore details of ornaments and clothing, such as necklaces, bracelets and striped dresses are obvious. They have similar hair to the 'Astarte' moulded plaques, a sort of headdress and ear-caps. What is more—making the situation regarding their gender even more complicated—the other female figurines made in the same technique, usually, have their breasts indicated. As Hermary argues, an Amathousian inhumation might supply supportive evidence for the gender of these figurines:[399] the double inhumation in tomb 11 of the Swedish excavations,[400] where seemingly a couple has been buried, might indeed illuminate the gender of the figurines. While next to the man a horseback rider figurine was lying, next to the woman's body a female figurine holding the circular object was found.

The identification of the circular object they hold is equally problematic. A number of interpretations have been made. It has been suggested that it represents schematically a tambourine (*tympanon*), a cake or bread, a ritual disc related to the cult of the goddess, or even a *baetyl*.[401] Iconographic evidence suggests that the existence of musicians, especially of tambourine players in ritual ceremonies related with the cult of Near Eastern Mediterranean goddesses, is a very common phenomenon.[402] Karageorghis, therefore, believes that a tambourine still seems to be the most likely answer.[403] Although at least in some cases, the interpretation of the tambourine should definitely be accepted (fig. 42),[404] Hermary proceeds to a detailed argumentation against that interpretation. He prefers to see this object as shorthand for a divine solar symbol of the goddess, maybe held by the worshippers, and he relates it to the circular image of the winged disc on the Hathor capitals' crown, a goddess that seems to have played a central role in the cosmology and religion of the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Amathous. There is

398 Karageorghis 1998b, 30. Karageorghis (1987, 19) hesitatingly identified them as male, but most recently he was inclined to consider them as female.

399 Hermary 2000a, 23.

400 *SCE* 2: 71.

401 For a detailed analysis see Karageorghis 1998b, 30–31; Hermary 2000a, 22–23. Karageorghis, based on a stylistic analysis, totally disagrees with the interpretation of a *baetyl* proposed by O'Bryhim (1997, 39–46).

402 For music in Cypriot cult see Meerschaert 1991 and Kolotourou 2005; cf. Knapp 2011.

403 Karageorghis 1998b, 30.

404 ie. Hermary 2000a, no. 19; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 96, fig. 91e.

one case where the winged disc is held by a Cypro-Classical female stone statuette.[405] In opposition to this interpretation, however, is the fact that while other Cypro-Classical stone statuettes holding only a circular object (most obviously a tambourine) exist,[406] that unique find from the 'palace' is holding a winged disc, and not just a circular object. Nonetheless, differentiation in the technique and the material should be considered.

If the aforementioned double inhumation is considered, the most common male companion beside this probably female figure in Amathous would be the horseback rider figurine (fig. 43).[407] The male figure is presented riding, with his hands on the horse's head. As the horse sacrifices in the dromoi of so-called royal burials from Salamis and elsewhere record, the possession and use of a horse, not necessarily for warfare but also in daily life and ceremonies, was considered a status symbol.[408] Whereas many of these figurines wear a conical helmet,[409] a limited number, four from tombs and two from the area of the 'palace', wear a different headdress: where a turban surrounds the head, a strip goes from the front of the head to the back of the neck.[410] Iconographic parallels are found elsewhere, such as on the horseback riders and the males on chariots from the sanctuary of Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion[411] and on a large stone fifth century BC head from the Louvre.[412] It has been suggested that this is the *mitra*, which according to Herodotus (7.90) was worn by the Cypriot *Basileis* during the Persian wars.[413] Hermary wonders whether those figurines should be associated with the image of the *Basileus* deposited in the sanctuary for the prosperity of the city-kingdom, and in the tombs for protection resulting from the royal connotations.[414] If this is the case, the next section on royalty and ideology might further illuminate aspects of the goddess's cult in terms of agency and ideology.

405 Hermary 2000a, pl. 61, no. 829.
406 Hermary 2000a, pl. 61, no. 826.
407 For the various types and the stylistic development of the horseback rider figurine see Karageorghis 1995b, 60–95.
408 Karageorghis 1995b, 61; Carstens 2005.
409 Hermary 2000a, pl. 17, no. 208.
410 From the tombs: see Karageorghis 1987, nos 113, 120, 121, 127; from the 'palace': see Hermary 2000a, nos 206, 209.
411 Young and Young 1955; Winter 1991; Hermary 2000a, 34.
412 Hermary 1989a, no. 532.
413 Young and Young 1995, 200–201; Hermary 2000a, 34; Petit 2004b, 17–18.
414 Hermary 2000a, 34.

Among other male types, the most important is a figurine found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite depicting a person wearing a human mask.[415] Hermary assigns a religious title to the person depicted in this figurine and he calls it 'priest'. This type is better represented in the sanctuary of Apollon *Hylates* at Kourion where the figurines with human masks were associated with figurines wearing a bull's mask and with dancers creating votive groups, evoking religious ceremonies.[416] Figurines depicting the act of wearing a bull's mask have also been found in the necropolis of Amathous.[417]

The depiction of a person wearing a mask is well-known in Cyprus. A number of actual terracotta masks (humans and animals) in natural size, dating from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC found at Amathous, both in funerary and sanctuary contexts, might provide an insight into the meaning of such figurines.[418] In some cases, on the actual masks there are openings in the area of the eyes and a hole below each ear. This evidence might indicate that some of them were actually worn on the face. In the excavations of the temple of 'Astarte' at Kition, real ox-skulls with the backs cut off and the protruding bones cleaned so that they could be used as masks were discovered.[419] These, however, are three or four centuries earlier than most of the terracotta mask models. Even earlier examples come from the Late Bronze Age sites of Enkomi and Kition-Kathari.[420]

Karageorghis stresses that the reappearance of the terracotta masks in Cyprus in the seventh-sixth centuries BC may not be a local development from the earlier usage in the island, but instead, as typologically some masks are related to Phoenician prototypes, may have been done to Phoenician influence; additionally, as he argues, their function as burial gifts also started in the 'Phoenician world' around 800 BC.[421] Nonetheless, it should be stressed that as bull masks appear in a Late Cypriot, Early Iron Age and Cypro-Archaic context, one should be careful in attributing particular origins and functions to masks. Elsewhere, Karageorghis suggests that the Late Cypriot custom of wearing bull masks survived down to the Cypro-Archaic

415 Hermary 2000a, 41, no. 199.
416 Young and Young 1955, 41, pl. 11.
417 Karageorghis 1987, 16, nos 5–6; 1995b, 55.
418 e.g. Hermary 2000a, 77–82, pls 32–35.
419 Karageorghis 1976, 102–105; Smith 2009, 103–111.
420 For a ritual interpretation of these Late Cypriot masks see Nys 1995; Webb 1999, 219–222; Reyes 2007, 6.
421 Karageorghis 1993, 107. For further discussion see O'Bryhim 1999, 11–12.

period.[422] At the same time, one should be careful of not assuming a single unchanging function notable through the long and wide multi-layered strength of the Cypriot tradition and cultural interaction.

Some specific examples could further illuminate the situation. Masks depicting a Bes-like daemon with horns and a disc on the centre of the forehead have been found.[423] The disc as an attribute of Astarte and Hathor has already been discussed. If the fact that both the Bes-like daemon and 'Astarte'/Hathor had a prominent position in the 'Amathousian pantheon' is considered, then the function of these masks might be better elucidated. Bes usually has an apotropaic function. He acts as patron of music and dancing and as a guardian of many people including pregnant women, mothers and warriors.[424] Karageorghis has argued that, as the case of the earlier masks, none of the Cypro-Archaic terracotta masks were worn:[425] this is due to their weight making them uncomfortable to be worn on the face, especially those without holes for the eyes and nostrils; additionally, some of them are smaller than life-size; he therefore argues that they were most probably votive masks and the originals would have been made of light organic materials such as wood, cloth or leather. What is important for our discussion is the fact that actual human, grimacing or zoomorphic masks were worn. Coming back to the aforementioned 'priest' figurine it should be mentioned that epigraphic evidence from Kition about ritual ceremonies, during which the priests performed wearing masks might even exist.[426] What is the relation between 'Bes', 'Astarte'/Hathor, bulls and priests? Even if the exact 'religious syncretisms' and associations are hard to trace, this subject will be further explored below, in the context of a more detailed discussion of the royal ideology.

In the fifth/fourth centuries BC the difficulty of distinguishing mortal from immortal in the female plaque figurines becomes even more obvious. The naked figures are no longer popular.[427] The moulded plaque terracotta figurines are now dressed. Hermary classifies them as korai in the Cypriot tradition (fig. 44), and korai imitating Greek types (fig. 45).[428] Some wear a diadem and others a pointed veil. Earrings and/or necklaces with pendants

422 Karageorghis 1998a, 30.
423 e.g. Karageorghis 1990, 3–6, no. A 148; Hermary 2000a, 78–79, 81, nos 510, 526.
424 Wilson 1975, 100.
425 Karageorghis 1993, 107.
426 Karageorghis 1990, 9.
427 Karageorghis, J. 1999, 126–129, 186–190.
428 Hermary 2000a, 91–101.

are still worn. They are no longer represented holding or pressing their breasts, and their arms are placed down beside the body holding their dress by the folds, or they keep one hand on their chest or on their stomach. As one moves towards the fourth century BC the figurines become increasingly 'hellenised'. They are now dressed in Greek costume, wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, and hold a fruit or a flower. Comparable limestone figurines, similar to the one mentioned in the '*Baetyl*' sanctuary, have been found both in the sanctuary and the 'palace'.[429] It is significant also that it is in this period that an abundance of Attic vases is found in the 'palace'. Generalisations about the relationship of terracotta and stone traditions can be dangerous.[430] It is true, however, that the Amathousian coroplasts are apparently influenced by sculpture and vases. The Cypriot figurines, usually influenced by the Near East and Greek traditions, have so far been presented. However, some Phoenician and Greek imports or imitations of types completely external to the Cypriot tradition have been found,[431] and these could represent the actual prototypes. This is, for instance, the case with the Greek Archaic and severe style terracottas found in Amathous.[432]

This is a good place to emphasise an important change in the cultic function of those female figurines. While the 'Astarte' figurines together with the Cypriot kore type appear as votives in the sanctuaries and as burial gifts as well, the Greek kore type, during the fifth-fourth centuries BC, appears only on the 'acropolis'.[433] How this relates to the significance of the figurines remains unresolved. The 'double-edged sword' question, asking whether or not those figurines represent the goddess, has to be faced again. According to Karageorghis they could be celebrants bringing an offering to the deity, but since in Greek iconography Aphrodite herself is often represented as a kore holding a flower, they could also be images of the goddess.[434]

A late fifth–early fourth century BC fragmentary figurine of a woman wearing a crown (*polos* in the shape of a *kalathos*)[435] has been associated with a sculpture depicting a woman with a turreted crown, who has been

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429 Hermary 2000a, 116–125.
430 Cassimatis 1991; Connelly 1991, 94–96.
431 Hermary 2000a, 102–105.
432 e.g. Hermary 2000a, pl. 46, no. 699.
433 Hermary 2000a, 91–92.
434 Karageorghis, J. 2005, 102–103.
435 Hermary 2000a, 106, no. 715, pl. 49. The *kalathos* has traditionally been interpreted as a fertility symbol, reserved for the goddesses or their priestesses: see Hermary 1982, 171; Monloup 1991, 277; Queyrel 1991, 209–211.

identified as Aphrodite (fig. 46).[436] Similar crowned limestone heads have been found all over the island. A similar head with a turreted crown, usually interpreted as Aphrodite, appears on the obverse of royal coins of Paphos and Salamis.[437] More recently, it has even been argued that in some instances, on the reverse of some of these coins, an interpretation of a figure usually interpreted as Aphrodite or as an unknown goddess, should better be interpreted as a male figure,[438] probably the *Basileus* himself. As argued below, associations with the goddess provide an excellent means for the ruler's legitimation of power. According to Karageorghis, the Cypriots created this type of Aphrodite as protector of the cities by giving her the Assyrian and Persian turreted crown.[439] Kraay also relates this head to Aphrodite, crowned with a circuit of walls and towers.[440] While these features on terracotta figurines cannot be securely identified, it can be argued that, as elsewhere in the 'Greek world', they could be personifications of the goddess which protects the city (probably equivalent to the Hellenistic concept of Tyche), and maybe the *Basileus* of the city-kingdom.

The fact that at least a number of female depictions wearing a *polos* represent the goddess is clearly illustrated on a unique late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic Cypriot limestone statue from Golgoi (fig. 47). With some sporadic exceptions (as far as I can ascertain),[441] this sculpture seems not to have received the appropriate attention from modern scholarship, since it might indeed explain the development of the local goddess' iconography and the process to her full 'hellenisation'. The statue portrays the goddess with clear attributes: she is now dressed in the Greek style and wears a high diadem decorated with palmettes alternating with nude 'Astarte' figures; she wears a necklace of pendant lotus blossoms and on her left arm holds a fragmentary winged Eros, the male Greek companion of the goddess *par excellence*.[442] The long spiral locks falling over the shoulders recall statues of Greek *korai*.

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436 Hermary 1981, 41–42, no. 36; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 103. A group of female heads with various crowns, among them the mural one, have been interpreted as Aphrodite: see Hermary 1982 and Ulbrich 2008, 95–96. For an interpretation of a fusion between the 'goddess' wearing a crown and Tyche see Beer 2002.

437 Hill 1964, pls XXII and XXIV; Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 1991, 15, 20.

438 Markou 2006; 2007, 287–291.

439 Karageorghis, J. 2005, 103; Ulbrich 2008, 95–96.

440 Kraay 1976, 308.

441 i.e. Ulbrich 2008, 91–92; 2010, 190–191; and Papantoniou 2011, 40. Ulbrich (2008, 91–92), further analyses this statue in comparison with a limited number of similar Cypriot sculptures that she interprets as the first 'hellenised' versions of the 'Cypriot Goddess'.

442 *SCE* 4(3): 88, pl. IX; Vermeule 1976, 25, fig. 14.

Not only iconography but also epigraphy further identifies the various stages of assimilation of the 'Cypriot Goddess'. A sherd found in the 'palace', incised with the capital letter *alpha*, might refer to Aphrodite; many similar dedications have been found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Tamassos.[443] By the fourth century BC the identity of the Amathousian goddess is clear. The dedications of the Amathousian *Basileus* Androkles, who calls the goddess Aphrodite, provide the key evidence. However, the adjective in front of the name of Aphrodite is of great importance: she is not just an Aphrodite, she is a Cyprian Aphrodite. Will the goddess lose her 'originality' and her individual character by entering into the cultural and religious context of the so-called Hellenistic *koine* or will she persist in her existence, being the 'Aphrodite of Cyprus', or even better, the 'Aphrodite of the Cypriots'?

Before turning to the Hellenistic figurines, it is important to consider the archaeological perspectives on the transmission and transformation of culture discussed in the first chapter in relation to 'hellenisation' processes and the notion of 'Hellenistic religious syncretism'. *Interpetatio*, parallelism, amalgamation, identification and re-creation of religious identities are actually steps within the overarching framework of 'syncretism', much more complex than what *we* modern scholars present them to be: in other words 'syncretism' is a non-linear process, rather than a state of being.[444] It is obvious that this theoretical background should be considered not only when examining Hellenistic religious phenomena, in our case Hellenistic terracotta figurines, but also in relation to other city-kingdom phenomena, such as the 'Astarte' figurines, or the presence of 'Bes' or 'Hathor' in Cyprus (see below). The application of post-colonial 'hybridity' models to Cypriot Iron Age material culture, and specifically to the study of Cypriot religious iconography of the so-called male divinity 'Master of the Lion' by Counts,[445] as well as the consideration of models of 'religious syncretism' by Budin specifically to the study of the 'Cypriot Goddess',[446] can prove how fruitful such a task might be.

Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines

Let us start by introducing the Hellenistic types. All the figurines are moulded, as is characteristic for the Hellenistic period, made of local workmanship, and mostly in local clay.[447] On some figurines where the colour

443 Petit 2002, 311, fig. 26.
444 Budin 2004, 97.
445 Counts 2006b; 2008.
446 Budin 2003; 2004.
447 For the technique see Aupert 1981, 373–375; Queyrel 1988, 15–19; Uhlenbrock 1990b.

is very well preserved it can be observed that they were multi-coloured. The majority come from the aforementioned deposit *MX* 318 and represent mainly divinities and female worshippers. An important change in the terracotta figurines after the Hellenistic period is that there is almost always a clear distinction between deities and worshippers. The character and identity of the deities can be seen much more clearly than before, and therefore conclusions about the cult can be more easily extracted.

Aphrodite figurines represent the majority of the other Hellenistic deity figurines uncovered. Queyrel categorises those figurines in seven main types (figs 48–53):[448] 1. dressed; 2. with one breast uncovered; 3. semi-naked and resting her left or right hand on a pillar; 4. naked and holding her breasts with her two hands; 5. with Eros on her shoulder; 6. sitting on a swan; and 7. the so-called 'Cypriot Aphrodite'. At a single glance it can be realised that types of the Hellenistic cultural *koine* shape the artistic representation of Aphrodite within the repertoire of the Amathousian figurines. The dressed Aphrodite, for example, is a common type of the Hellenistic Mediterranean *koine* which originated from Rhodes or Attica, while the type of Aphrodite with one breast uncovered is particularly common in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, the naked Aphrodite holding her breasts is represented in the Greek style, but the motif is completely Cypriot, resembling the 'Astarte' figurines.[449] In addition, what are called 'Cypriot Aphrodite' figurines represent a Hellenistic form of the goddess most probably influenced by her Cypro-Classical predecessor korai types.

Queyrel can clearly recognise the human image of Aphrodite within the Hellenistic terracotta fragments found in the sanctuary—even if only four in number.[450] Hermary, (most probably based on the fragmentary nature of the evidence) has recently questioned whether the local Aphrodite was worshipped on the 'acropolis' sanctuary simply in a non-figurative form, i.e. a *baetyl*.[451] Moving away from an attempt to identify how the 'cult idol' of the goddess looked like, the fine separation between local and non-local, or 'traditional' and 'new' cults is not a very useful way to approach ancient polytheistic religions, and particularly, the Cypriot Iron Age cults. I believe that, even within the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the 'acropolis' hill, one should allow co-existence and variation in the image of the main divinity.

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448 Queyrel 1988, 35–57.
449 Queyrel 1988, 43; cf. Karageorghis 2008, 147 and Ulbrich 2008, 92–93.
450 Queyrel 1988, 211.
451 Hermary et al. 2006b, 128–129.

A fragmentary Eros figurine found in the deposit *MX* 318 (fig. 54), along with some heads possibly representing the god, the one from the 'subterranean cult place' and one from a burial context (now in the British Museum),[452] show again the arrival of perceptions relating this deity with Aphrodite in Cyprus. A torso statuette, depicting Eros holding a crown, has also been found in the suburb of Amathous.[453] The fact that the British Museum Eros is not represented holding a torch has led Queyrel to doubt the funereal significance attributed to the god in Amathous, and therefore she considers his placement in a burial context accidental.[454] However, a more recent find from the sanctuary, depicting the god Eros with Psyche, might reinforce the funereal significance if the myth mentioned in the Soloi section is taken into consideration (fig. 55). A funeral painted *stele* of Macedonian origin,[455] depicting an Eros, might reveal some further evidence about the diffusion and the nature of the cult in Amathous. The rarity of Eros figurines, as well as the rarity of children (only some fragments of infants and young boys have been found)[456] and the absence of Harpocrates, led Queyrel to stress that the goddesses found in the deposit *MX* 318, mainly Aphrodite and Isis, were primarily worshipped as women and then as mothers.[457] This interpretation, however, could be problematic.

It is hoped that the whole discussion above, concerning the character of the 'Astarte' and kore figurines, has already shown that the key element to approaching the character of the 'Cypriot Goddess', as any other Mediterranean goddess, is the recognition of its complexity.[458] In the same way, the complexity of her cult should be considered. Her mythology, her cultic character and her iconography in a Cypriot context encompass fertility of the land, sexuality, childbirth, death, rebirth, political power, and even warfare as has been seen in the case of Soloi; i.e. the *kourotrophoi* figurines and the mythology, namely regarding 'Ariadne-Aphrodite', indicate that she was

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452 Queyrel 1988, pl. 83; Flourentzos 2004, pl. XXX, 143.

453 Hermary 1981, 25.

454 Queyrel 1988, 241.

455 Hermary 1986, 407–408.

456 Queyrel 1988, 165–166, 188, 225, 233.

457 Queyrel 1988, 58. However, even if limited, the presence of Harpocrates in other archaeological contexts is documented in Cyprus: see Anastassiades 1993.

458 For methodological grounding regarding the complexity and aspects of Mediterranean and Near Eastern goddesses and their cults see Goodison and Morris 1998. For brief and very informative reports on the complexity of the 'Cypriot Goddess' see Webb 1989 and 2003. For confusions between sexuality and fertility in the cult of Cypriot Aphrodite and the various roles attributed to her see Budin 2002 and Ulbrich 2008, particularly 98–102, 107–109, 253–261.

honoured as a mother. 'Astarte' figurines, 'the lady at the entrance/window' models and Hellenistic figurines might emphasise her sexuality. The 'tomb of Ariadne' within her sanctuary, and the use of water in the goddess's cult might relate her with death, cleansing and rebirth. And finally, mythology, 'syncretism', iconography and epigraphy strongly associate her with political power. It therefore becomes clear that the personification of a multifaceted goddess with a complex character and portfolio, within various transformations and associations, dominates over almost all aspects of human life. This fact is in opposition to the classic perception of Greek Aphrodite, who has primarily been regarded as a goddess of love, desire and beauty. As shown in the Soloi section and further discussed below, even in a Hellenistic context, the Cypriot Aphrodite, being the goddess of the island *par excellence*, through various transformations maintains all these roles.

Next to Aphrodite, the second important goddess represented in figurines is Isis (figs 56–57). Actually, Amathous is the primary find-spot in Cyprus for Hellenistic Isis figurines. The same types of Isiac priests with the shaved head found in the subterranean tunnel have also been found in the deposit *MX* 318 (fig. 58). The connection of the Egyptian goddess and Aphrodite on the Amathous 'acropolis', as in the case of Soloi-Cholades is evident. One should recall the inscription examined earlier, referring to the cult of Sarapis, Isis and Aphrodite (or Isis-Aphrodite) and members of the Ptolemaic dynasty. As examined in the Soloi section the cult of Aphrodite came to be associated with that of Isis. The remains of the later Roman temple of Aphrodite still bearing the traces of Nabatean architectural elements might be a result of Egyptian influence in the cult.[459]

Queyrel, discussing in detail the Isiac iconography, gives a most satisfactory account of the character of the goddess in an Amathousian context.[460] The goddess is represented wearing a *chiton* and a knotted *himation* with the Isiac knot between her breasts. As seen in the Soloi section, this representation of Isis is far from common during the early Hellenistic period, and it was only developed in the late Hellenistic/early Roman period, probably as a result of Cleopatra VII's association with the goddess in seek for political legitimation. The goddess wears the Hathoric crown, consisting of the solar disc held by two horns and a high feather on top of the disc, resting on two ears of corn. As Miller-Ammerman argues, however, figurines represent-

[459] Queyrel 1988, 28–29, 65.
[460] Queyrel 1988, 59–73.

ing Isis are often indistinguishable from those representing her priestesses, since both wore the same clothing.[461] Although Sarapis is mentioned on the dedication at the Aphrodite sanctuary, he is completely absent from the terracotta figurine repertoire. Moreover, Harpocrates is not represented next to his mother. The type of Isis *lactans* is entirely missing. The most common attributes of the goddess in an Egyptian context are the *sistrum* in the right hand and the *situla* in the left. Moreover, while the *cornucopia* and the torch attributes, a result of the 'Graeco-Egyptian' amalgamation, are found elsewhere in Alexandria and other areas of the Mediterranean, as are the *sistrum* and *situla*, all of these are totally absent from the Amathousian iconography.

The cult of Isis in Cyprus does not appear to be bounded by typical Egyptian religion and its doctrines.[462] It should be emphasised, however, that the goddess was primarily mediated through a 'hellenising' Alexandrian filter and this is the way that her cult found its way to Cyprus.[463] Intriguingly, although people living in Amathous are completely happy to include the goddess in their religious system, with the exception of the Isiac knot and the Hathor crown, they only partially adopt her 'Graeco-Egyptian' iconography. Coming back to the question set in the Soloi section regarding the fine separation between native and foreign cults, the iconography of these Amathousian terracotta figurines further suggests that an attempt to identify Greek 'colonial' settlers and local population on the island through the archaeological evidence is usually misleading. In fact, the selective iconography of these figurines suggests that they were most probably devoted by local Cypriot populations.

I am in total agreement with Anastassiades that, when it comes to religious identities, Cypriots were able to select from a wider context so they can conduct their rituals in conformity with local traditions.[464] Additionally, the crown of Isis might have been recognisable among Cypriots as an ancient religious symbol of their past. Let us remember that some Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Hathor capitals, showing a crowned deity, might still be in place within the sanctuary of Aphrodite, providing an easy

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461 Miller-Ammerman 1990, 41.

462 Anastasiades 2009, 150.

463 The existence of Isis's cult, brought by Egyptian merchants, can also be noted in mainland Greece by the Classical period: see for example Simms 1989; Pakkanen 1996.

464 Anastasiades 2009, 150.

means for connection and association. Thus, Isiac cult through its association with Aphrodite cult becomes part of the indigenous population mentality. In keeping with this concern one could go further and ask what ultimately did Isis mean to the Amathousians? How did they perceive her? First, it needs to be said that the figurines clearly show the existence of personae of two goddesses. As in the Soloi case, a fusion with Aphrodite does not seem to exist. Instead of talking about assimilation, one should better talk about association of the two goddesses and adaptation within the new cultural and religious trends and contexts.[465] As a life-giving goddess related to death, fertility and protection of the family, Isis must have satisfied the cosmological needs of Amathousians, and indeed her powers and virtues matched the character of the 'Cypriot Goddess'. She was therefore translated into a local adaptation. It could even be said that eventually she becomes a 'Cypriot Isis'.

While Aphrodite and Isis seem to have had a primary role in the Amathousian cult, Artemis is also visible in the deposit *MX* 318.[466] Although she is a new goddess for the Amathousian figurine types she is epigraphically and iconographically attested in Cypriot religion by the Cypro-Classical period.[467] In the actual city of Amathous, two Cypro-Classical stone torsoes, one from the area of the 'acropolis'[468] and one from the subterranean tunnel,[469] might belong to that deity. Pouilloux has suggested that in Cyprus a 'syncretism' existed between the cult of Artemis and Aphrodite.[470] Vandervondelen also argued that Artemis, already by the fifth-fourth centuries BC, had been associated with the 'Cypriot Goddess'.[471] In the Amathousian figurine repertoire Artemis is depicted armed, but she is not accompanied by any of her favoured animals. Furthermore, in another type, she is depicted as *dadophoros*, holding a torch. This is important element, considering that the act of holding a torch is usually related to salvation and mystery religions. While fragments from the deposit *MX* 318 provide evidence for this type, the complete figurine from the subterranean tunnel shows exactly the style of the Cypriot version (fig. 59).

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465 Queyrel 1988, 66.

466 Queyrel 1988, 74–80.

467 e.g. Masson 1961, 95–96, no. 1: the *Basileus* Nikokles of Paphos dedicates a temple to Artemis *Agrotera*; Counts and Toumazou 2003; Tatton-Brown 2007, 177–178.

468 Hermary 1981, 38–39, no. 32.

469 Flourentzos 2004, 8, 18, no. 39.

470 Pouilloux 1986, 420–421.

471 Vandervondelen 1997, 282–283; 2002, 153, note 16.

Again, like Isis, Artemis is not adopted but adjusted to the Cypriot religion because she matched the religious interests, culture and needs of Cypriots. Artemis was born first and helped her mother Leto to deliver her twin Apollo. Artemis is also related with navigation and the sea, as are Aphrodite and Isis.[472] Therefore, she was also known as *Kourotrophos* and *Soteira*, having strong connotations with child-nursing, family protection and salvation. With regard to her role in salvation, her position within the subterranean tunnel as *dadophoros* next to her brother Apollo should be considered. It is also interesting to stress that royal ideology again, seems to have been a channel for the goddess' arrival on the island: while in the late Cypro-Classical period the last *Basileus* of Paphos, Nikokles, built a temple to Artemis as seen in the landscapes chapter, in the Hellenistic period, the daughter of the Ptolemaic *Strategos* on the island, Eirene, was the high-priestess of the goddess.[473] As discussed, and as also demonstrated by the coinage, Apollo had a prominent role in the royal ideology of the last Cypriot *Basileis*, particularly those of Paphos. Artemis in Cyprus however, went into many local transformations during the Hellenistic period.[474] If we move from the urban site of Amathous, to the extra-urban context of the sanctuaries of the Mesaoria plain, such as those of Achna, Pyla and Athienou-Malloura, the sudden appearance of an Artemis-like image next to that of 'Pan', might indeed supply more evidence for the manipulation of divine imagery by Ptolemies and their attendants on the island.

Next to those female goddesses, some male companions are found in addition to Eros. Before their examination, one point should be made clear. As the evidence from the 'subterranean cult place' has also shown, while male figurines are abundant in the preceding periods, after the fourth century BC, with the exception of those male gods and the figurines of Isis' priests, they are almost completely absent from the terracotta repertoire of Hellenistic period.[475] One should further consider the possible relationship of some of the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical male figurines with the intermixing of popular religion and royal ideology. This evidence might be relevant to the earlier discussion concerning the figurines wearing a *mitra* and their possible association with the *Basileus*.

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472 Pouilloux 1986.

473 Mehl 2000, 738–739; Marquaille-Telliez 2008, 54.

474 Mehl 2000, 737–738.

475 It needs to be said, however, that horseback rider figurines in other sanctuaries dedicated to male gods might continue in the Hellenistic period as the case of Apollo *Hylates* sanctuary at Kourion attests: see Connelly 1991, 99; Vandenabeele 2007.

Some fragmentary figurines from the deposit *MX* 318 and one from the sanctuary represent the figure of the Anatolian god Attis, the companion of Cybele (fig. 60). The cult of these deities is widely spread in the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period. Although some evidence for the cult of Cybele exists in Soloi-Cholades and elsewhere in Cyprus,[476] Amathous has not produced any such evidence. Therefore, the presence of Attis here is very difficult to interpret. It is intriguing to think that, in accordance with the Cholades cults, Cybele might have existed next to Aphrodite and Isis, and her absence is merely due to a lack of evidence. Additionally, as the Attis figurines are very fragmentary and very similar to those of the Dioscuri, they might relate to one and the same divine character in a different variation. Queyrel associates Attis with Eros and the Dioscuri, acting as companions of the goddesses. The myth of Attis might offer a correlation or association with the bisexual, androgynous or sexually ambiguous character of the Amathousian Aphrodite which might have to do with eschatological completeness or rituals of integration.[477] Nonetheless, as the evidence for Attis cult is so fragmentary, any further interpretation remains only a speculation.

Other fragmentary figurines found both in the sanctuary and in the deposit, although at first interpreted as Attis,[478] have convincingly been reconstructed by Queyrel as a double figure of two young men in *piloi* and *chlamydes* acting again as companions of the goddesses (fig. 61).[479] Thanks to iconographic parallels they have been interpreted as the Dioscuri. They are not represented as horseback riders, they have no weapons and, because of their bodily features, it has been suggested that they are in their childhood. The idea of Barnand that the Dioscuri figurines were probably merged with the anonymous Cypro-Archaic horseback rider figurines examined above is an intriguing one,[480] in terms of social reproduction and symbolic legitimacy, especially when one considers that some of those figurines might have been connected with the local royalty. However, the iconography might betray such a proposition. The horse is completely missing from the Hellenistic figurines. The conical hats, also worn by the Cypro-Archaic horseback riders might be coincidentally similar to *piloi*. There is

[476] Nicolaou 1979, 169–177; Anastassiades 1995.
[477] Sophocleous 1985a; Maclachlan 2002; Beer 2009, 38; cf. Christou 2012.
[478] Aupert 1981, 381.
[479] Queyrel 1985; 1988, 81–84, 212.
[480] Barnard 2003, 71.

strong evidence to suggest that the Dioscuri and Aphrodite are directly associated. Interestingly, wherever 'temple prostitution' is said to have taken place in the Greek world, there are also some traces of the Dioscuri.[481]

Their relationship to sailors, chthonic elements and Ptolemaic ideology has already been touched upon in the Soloi section. Let us, however, elaborate more on the Dioscuri cult in the Hellenistic period. In Egypt itself the connection of the Dioscuri cult with the Ptolemies is further attested by epigraphic evidence.[482] It is suggested that queen Arsinoe, who also associated herself with Aphrodite (ch. 3.2.3), introduced or stimulated the cult of the Dioscuri, seeing in them the Kabeiroi whom she had worshipped at Samothrace. In a poem mourning her death in 270 BC (Callimachus, fr. 228 Pf), the Dioscuri carry her off to heaven. Dioscuri are leaders, guides or protectors. Their significance in the literary-mythological thinking of third century BC Alexandria might have extended towards Cyprus as well.

At Alexandria, also, the Dioscuri were associated with Isis and Aphrodite as saviour gods and protectors of travellers and the family.[483] This seems to be the case for Cyprus as well, where the Dioscuri are always related with Aphrodite and above all with Isis. Soloi, Paphos and Amathous are the main sites where such associations exist.[484] Roman evidence might also be used to elucidate the Dioscuri cult in a Cypriot context. A Roman Dioscuros statue, for instance, has been found in the *Nymphaeum* at Kourion.[485] The importance of the *Nymphaea* has been particularly examined in the 'subterranean cult place' section. Moreover, the Roman mosaics of Leda (the mother of the Dioscuri) and the swan (Zeus) from Palaipaphos, Salamis and Nea Paphos allude to the Dioscuri.[486] In particular, the Nea Paphos mosaics directly relate the Dioscuri to Dionysus.[487] The two brothers flank and appear to guard the Dionysiac procession. In Barnard's interpretation the "little warriors who guard the god of wine are surely not leaders of battle but guarantors of peace".[488]

481 Strong 1997, 269.
482 Fraser 1972, 198, 207.
483 Queyrel 1988, 82, notes 6–10.
484 Queyrel 1988, 82–83; Barnard 2003, 71–72.
485 Barnard 2003, 74.
486 Barnard 2003, 73–74.
487 Barnard 2003, 74.
488 Barnard 2003, 74.

In conjunction with the evidence discussed in the Soloi section, it seems that the Dioscuri in Cyprus act as saviour gods relating to the underworld, immortality and rebirth. Interestingly, it has even been suggested that the use of Rhodian amphorae in Hellenistic graves, attested at Nea Paphos,[489] might be connected with the cult of the Dioscuri. Barker suggests that the Hellenistic residents of Paphos might have decided to place two amphorae in an individual grave perhaps as a reference to the Dioscuri; he bases his argument on a number of references to the Dioscuri as 'amphorae' in various ancient media, such as red-figure vases and stone reliefs found in Apulia.[490] Additionally, an inscribed early Roman boat-shaped lamp from Nea Paphos, found in the 'House of Orpheus', suggests a possible relation of Dioscuri with Sarapis:[491] while the inscription refers to Sarapis, two stars, represented above the figure of the god, might be regarded as iconographic shorthands for the Dioscuri themselves who are often represented with Sarapis on similar Egyptian lamps.[492] In addition, what is more important, is that during the Ptolemaic rule of Cyprus, symbols of the Dioscuri, such as *piloi* and stars, also appear on coins minted on the island.[493] Whether any final conclusions should be drawn remains unclear. However, a picture is emerging of possible connections between the Nymphs-Isis-Aphrodite-Zeus-Dionysus-Dioscuri and the Ptolemaic ideology and cult.

Next to divine figures, other types of figurines can be interpreted as agents of cult. The first category consists of the *kourotrophoi* representing a standing mother holding an infant (fig. 62).[494] Similar types, mainly in stone, are known from the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods. Among the Hellenistic figurines a fragmentary one depicts a unique subject: a woman breastfeeding her child. According to Queyrel, the particularity of the subject, and comparison with earlier Cypriot *kourotrophoi* examples, might suggest a divine character, but this cannot be confirmed.[495] Even if the situation regarding the Hellenistic figurines is less problematic, as it has been clearly emphasised when trying to 'read' the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical terracotta figurines, it is usually very difficult to separate goddess from pries-

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489 Michaelides 1990b.
490 Barker 2004, 78, note 21.
491 For the lamp see *ARDAC* 1987, 48, fig. 75 and *BCH* 111(2): 689, fig. 45 a and b; Michaelides 2009.
492 Michalides 2009, 203–204; cf. Barnard 2003, 74.
493 Barnard 2003, 74–75; see for example Zapiti and Michaelidou 2007, 128, no. 23.
494 Queyrel 1988, 89–94.
495 Queyrel 1988, 90–92.

tess or worshipper. In general, however, the *kourotrophoi* figurines do not offer any attributes that would suggest a divine character. They should better be interpreted as worshippers, mothers or women wishing to have an infant, offering ex-votos to Isis, Aphrodite and Artemis. This aspect of the Amathousian cults, recalls again the Cypriot legendary role of Ariadne, as protector of birth.

Female musicians together with separate terracotta musical instruments as ex-votos are also well represented.[496] It should be noted that such figurines have been found both in the 'subterranean cult place' and in a Hellenistic tomb at Amathous. Players of the *trigonon*, a type of Hellenistic harp, can be seen (fig. 63). The headgear of those figurines, also found in other terracotta types depicting worshippers, originates from Egypt where musicians and dancers play a significant role in the cult of Isis.[497] The possible role of musicians, especially those playing the tambourine in the cult of the local goddess, in the Cypro-Archaic period should be remembered. The use of that instrument in Amathousian religion becomes much clearer by the Hellenistic period (fig. 64). Music is a frequent accompaniment to praise and, as Burkert argues, can be one of the most powerful means of expression, attraction and propaganda in many forms of religion.[498]

Sacred dance performance could not be absent from the cult of the goddesses venerated, and the terracotta figurines are quite evocative of this (fig. 65).[499] The kind of dance carried out by the figurines could be a completely new element for Cypriot religious activity, and the movement could also be related to technological developments. Nonetheless, the theme of dance is very ancient in Cyprus, and should have played an important role in the cult of the 'Cypriot Goddess'.[500] The majority of the dancers are presented with the head and face completely covered, with the exception of the eyes. They also have quite expressive movement. Queyrel, undertaking a comparative study with other areas of the Mediterranean, attributes a particular meaning of cultic value; veiling the face and covering the mouth indicates respect for the divinity.[501] Some of them wear an extreme conical headdress. A comparative study of the figurines again attributes a cultic

496 Queyrel 1988, 95–101.
497 Queyrel 1988, 97.
498 Burkert 1996, 92.
499 Queyrel 1988, 102–108.
500 Karageorghis, J. 1977, 197.
501 Queyrel 1988, 106. Llwellyn-Jones (2003) explores the importance of veiling in the Greek world (from 900 BC to 200 AD), and argues that it was routine for women of various social strata, directly related to their social identity and their emotional state.

value to this headdress which, according to Queyrel, should probably be connected with the practice of 'sacred prostitution' in honour of Aphrodite. Furthermore, another terracotta female figure with a veil resembles Egyptian figurines in relation with the cult of Isis (fig. 66).[502]

The presence of *hydrophorai* (water carriers) is more apparent at Amathous in the Hellenistic period in comparison with the earlier periods (fig. 67).[503] The use of water, particularly in the cult of female deities, is very important as already noted, and indeed related with all the goddesses venerated in Amathous: Aphrodite, Isis and Artemis. Although the relation of these water carriers with bathing (the importance of which has been assumed by the discovery of a bathtub in the temple of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos as well as by numerous small bathtubs found in graves) and 'sacred prostitution', suggested by Strong,[504] remains very speculative,[505] the importance of water in the local cult is beyond any question.

The next type of cult agent to be examined is that of a woman with her hands buckled and hidden within her clothes (fig. 68). The interpretation of these figurines is very difficult. The fact that—in cases where the head is preserved—they wear the same headdresses as the *trigonon* player figurines and the position of their hands which is considered as hieratic, in comparison to the iconography of the priests of Isis in Egypt,[506] might indeed link them with participants of Isiac ceremonies. In comparison with Athens, the presence of women in the Isiac cult is more active during the Roman period, when it is transformed into a mystery religion.[507] I suggest that the chronology of the Amathousian figurines, i.e. within the late Hellenistic/early Roman period, along with the evidence discussed in the Soloi-Cholades section, might suggest a mystery aspect for the cult represented by these figurines.

Other draped female figurines with no further distinguishing features exist in the Amathousian terracotta production.[508] Among them a good number of imitations of the popular so-called Tanagra style figurines is found. The figure of a standing woman enveloped in a long flowing cloak

502 Queyrel 1988, 105–106.
503 Queyrel 1988, 109–113.
504 Strong 1997, 62.
505 For a recent interpretation of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age 'bathtubs' see Collard 2008.
506 Queyrel 1988, 114–118.
507 Pakkanen 1996.
508 Queyrel 1988, 123–154, 200, 213–223, 242–243.

was the most common terracotta in the Hellenistic world. While the dress and hair-styles of those figurines are modelled on contemporary fashions, many of the poses they assume are thought to imitate those of large-scale statues, and it has therefore also been suggested that they could be intended to represent Muses or divinities.[509] The name Tanagra comes from the ancient city of this name in Boeotia where they were primarily found in large numbers. Although some types are closer to the actual Tanagrian tradition, the majority are influenced by their transmission via Alexandria.[510] The majority of those closer to the actual Tanagrian tradition were found in the sanctuary and these probably date before or slightly after the end of the city-kingdom.[511] This is important information as it shows both the continuity of cult, and also, once again, the strong 'hellenised' elements already in place during the city-kingdoms era.

Further Discussion

The review of the Amathousian figurines has clearly shown the particularity of the Cypriot coroplastic art. Under the Ptolemies, types and styles of the Hellenistic *koine* were introduced to Cyprus. The geographical position of the island makes it open to influences from various areas, but the most immediate influence, stylistically and thematically, comes from Alexandria, where styles and ideas were transmitted, and from there travelled to Cyprus where they were further transformed.[512] All these transformations have already, quite correctly, contributed to questioning the long-accepted view of a distinctive, clear-cut Alexandrian school of art.[513] However, in Amathous, influences from other areas of the Greek world, such as Tanagra, Asia Minor and Greek islands are also visible.[514] It becomes clear that the transformation processes which took place on the island are even more complex, multi-layered, and therefore difficult to understand.

While 'objectification of change' has to do with agency both constraining and enabling human beings in their day-to-day activities and practices,[515] it is also related to long-term mentalities, memory and tradition. The Cypriot cultural and religious tradition, indeed, seems to have played a decisive role

509 Burn 1991, 134.

510 Kassab Tezgör 1998. For a technological, typological and stylistic development of Tanagra figurines see Higgins 1987; Jeammet 2010. For the distinction between the actual Tanagrian tradition and the Athenian developments see Uhlenbrock 1990c, 49.

511 Queyrel 1988, 21–22; Hermary 2000a, 110–111.

512 Queyrel 1988, 21–22.

513 Connelly 1990b, 89; Kozloff 1996; Stewart 1996; Chamoux 2003, 380–381.

514 Aupert 1996b, 58.

515 Dobres and Robb 2000, 8.

in the choice of themes. Before examining issues of the Hellenistic *koine*, it is important to establish that some elements were already in place within Cypriot culture, providing a forum for the transmission and transformation of types and ideas.

Without going back to the Late Bronze Age,[516] I will observe that strong 'hellenisation' processes of the Cypriot culture were politically supervised and culturally motivated already from the city-kingdoms' period. The Greek alphabet, for example, is attested in Cyprus as early as the sixth century BC,[517] probably as well as the linguistic influence of the Greek dialect.[518] Some Cypriot *Basileis*, with Euagoras of Salamis as pioneer, mint coins bearing the alphabetic script on them.[519] Moving from the linguistic and epigraphic evidence to the archaeological one, the process of the 'hellenisation' of the 'Cypriot Goddess' was already under way from the Cypro-Classical period.[520] As seen in the previous discussion, this is exactly the period when other Greek divinities, such as Hera, Artemis, Demeter and Apollo appear on the island. In the same way, the representation of material in the 'Greek style' during the Hellenistic period was imposed not necessarily from outside, namely by the Ptolemaic occupation, but was equally a process which had begun to develop internally through commercial contacts and the 'hellenising' politics of the Cypriot *Basileis* during the fifth-fourth centuries BC.

From at least 460 BC the *Basileis* of Amathous have Greek names recorded on the inscriptions and coinage of the city-kingdom. This is further illustrated by the dedication of the last *Basileus* of Amathous in the principal sanctuary in the Greek alphabet that calls the local goddess 'Aphrodite'. Cypriots, royals and non-royals appear to dedicate in major pan-hellenic sanctuaries already by the Archaic period:[521] Androkles of Amathous, next to the use of alphabetic Greek in his royal inscriptions, appears to dedicate gold in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos in 313 BC.[522] Interestingly, Amathous provides evidence for alphabetic script before the fourth century BC.[523] In

516 For the most recent and detailed account on this see Iacovou 2008a. For a review of studies devoted to the problem of 'hellenisation' of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age see Fourrier 2008b.
517 Collombier 2003, 141.
518 Brixhe 1988.
519 e.g. Hill 1964, pl. XI, no. 17.
520 Papantoniou 2011.
521 see Pouilloux 1976.
522 *IG* 11(2), 135, 204, 205, 219; Collombier 1993, 136.
523 Aupert 2003.

addition to literary and epigraphic evidence, the archaeological finds from the Amathous 'palace' have also shown a very deep Greek and especially Attic influence, leading to the conclusion that the last generations of the Amathousian dynasty adopted strong 'hellenising' modes of life. As Petit argues some black and red-figure vases bearing narrative scenes could be signs of some cultural and/or mythical 'hellenisation' of local elites; pottery shapes and iconography might also suggest the introduction of more 'hellenised' ways of life.[524] It is also important to note that in the Cypro-Classical period Amathous adopted foundation myths based on Greek epics.[525] As Petit argues, a process that may have well began from the fifth century BC reached its climax in the fourth century BC: the gradual 'hellenisation' of the city, in conformation with the socio-political environment of the majority of the rest Cypriot city-kingdoms.[526]

To move from the context of Amathous, it can be said that similar bilingual dedicatory royal inscriptions are also found in the case of the Cypro-Phoenician *Basileus* of Kition, Milkyaton.[527] Additionally, digraphic dedications in syllabic and alphabetic Greek are found in the case of the last *Basileus* of Paphos, Nikokles.[528] The policy of the *Basileus* of Salamis, Euagoras, constitutes the strongest indication for the adaptation of mainland Greek modes and the orientation towards Greek politics and culture.[529] Earlier, even if the Amathousian *Basileus* stayed in alliance with the Persians, the majority of the Cypriot *Basileis* supported Greeks during the Ionian Revolt in 499/498 BC; apart from complex identity issues, this event constitutes a major orientation on behalf of the Cypriots towards Greek politics and economics.[530] Even the 'Phoenician' Kitian merchants are having a special connection with Athens during this period, as the Athenians grant them the right (not a common practice) to build a temple to their goddess, by that time Aphrodite, in Piraeus.[531] It is vital at this point to state the recent argument of Rosenzweig that in Classical Athens—a place where the Cypriot

524 Petit 2007a.
525 Petit 2007a, 95–96, 98–100; cf. Hermary 2002, 280–281.
526 Petit 2007a, 96; Karageorghis, J. 2008, 146; Papantoniou 2011, 44.
527 Masson 1961, 246, no. 220. For the gradual ideological shift of the Cypro-Phoenicians of Kition towards a 'hellenising' identity during the Cypro-Classical period cf. Georgiou 2009.
528 Mitford 1960, 200–205; Masson 1961, 95–96.
529 cf. Spiridaki 1963, 27–87.
530 Christodoulou 2006; 2009; Mavrojannis 2006, 50.
531 *IG* 2(2): 337; Simms 1989, 216; Karageorghis 2010, 32–33.

Basileis are particularly keen to formulate political and cultural relations at this time—Aphrodite acquires such an important role, almost comparable to that of Athena.[532] In the same politico-ideological and economic orientations one should regard the benevolent attitude of the majority of the Cypriot *Basileis* towards Alexander the Great. Art, iconography and cult goes along with these orientations.[533]

During the earlier Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, Assyrian, Egyptian, Phoenician or Persian modes and iconography were adapted within Cypriot traditions to express royal ideology, which however does not seem to neglect the popular cosmology. To put it in another way, popular, prevailing or fashionable Mediterranean and Near Eastern politics, economics and modes influenced Cypriot politics and culture, but always in an adaptive way. It is therefore argued that this is the way that the response of Cyprus to the so-called Hellenistic *koine* should be regarded; as an equally internal phenomenon guided by the trends of the new era.

In keeping with the above argument, although the proposition of foreign influences not only in artistic types and styles but also in cult practice is definitely acceptable, I would be reluctant to interpret the Amathousian draped women that have been identified as votaries "distinctly non-Cypriot in nature and appearance", for they are usually shown bareheaded, in opposition to the conventions of stone sculpture which requires that female votaries always cover their heads with the *himation*, for example.[534] A similar perspective can also be noted in Karageorghis' view on Cypriot terracottas in the Hellenistic period where he clearly states that, entering the *koine* style of Hellenistic and Roman art, one can no longer speak of Cypriot terracottas: "[t]he Cypriote character of the figurines was lost ... the ancient gods of Cyprus had already disappeared and were unable to sustain their figurines".[535]

There is indeed an alternative to Connelly's view that in the Amathous material as a whole "outside influence is so strong that the native Cypriote tradition is scarcely recognizable":[536] For Burn, "the Amathous terracottas, while sharing the common subjects of the Hellenistic world at large, have in terms of style very little in common with those of, say Athens, Tanagra or the

532 Rosenzweig 2004.
533 e.g. Flourentzos 2007; Raptou 2007; Papantoniou 2011, 43–45.
534 Connelly 1991, 98.
535 Karageorghis 1991, 14.
536 Connelly 1991, 97.

coast of Asia Minor".[537] This reveals the lack of a shared understanding of the position of the figurines within the context of a common religious and cultural *koine*. Matters of fashion, technique and even of probable Hellenistic religious flexibility in a polytheistic context should be considered. Connelly, elsewhere, takes a clearer and more balanced approach to the character of the transmission, worth describing here: as she suggests, the repertoire of Cypriot Hellenistic terracotta figurines is as diverse as the society that produced them; Ptolemaic rule, trade, settlement and artistic influence should only be evaluated considering diversity, continuity and change; Cypriots responded to the needs of the new era in their own specific ways, accepting, rejecting, and combining the old with the new; she concludes that the corpus of terracotta figurines not only provides important traces for stylistic developments, tastes and religious practice, but also materialises the transmission of the influences that produced the social change.[538]

The above discussion has clearly established that the 'palimpsest' of deities and cults from *Basileis* to *Strategos* was not only a result of the political developments in the Mediterranean, but also of active receptivity and inventiveness of the local cultural mentality.[539] I would propose that 'foreign cults'—probably practiced in a long-established Cypriot religious centre such as that of the Amathousian Aphrodite—should usually be regarded as having been blended with the local tradition, accommodated and localised. Terms such as transmission, transformation, hybridisation, synthesis, symbiosis, distortion and absorption, are all very helpful to keep in mind when approaching the 'Hellenistic religious *koine*'.

On the other hand, relatively speaking, a Hellenistic artistic *koine* does not necessarily imply a religious *koine*. The material clearly speaks against such a proposition. As each area of the Mediterranean responded to the Hellenistic types in its own unique way,[540] its response to Hellenistic religion should be similarly regarded. Indeed, Potter has recently challenged the very term 'Hellenistic religion'; the question whether or not the adjective 'Hellenistic' can properly be transferred from the context of political history to that of religion is very problematic and there is no one model that fits all forms of religious contacts.[541] The study of Amathousian cults has

537 Burn 2000, 46; cf. Burn and Higgins 2001, 258 and Higgs and Kiely 2009, 404.
538 Connelly 1990a, 97.
539 Anastassiades 2007a, 170.
540 Connelly 1991, 94.
541 Potter 2003, 407–408.

shown that continuity was an important feature of social change. Elements of religious behaviour that are completely new are hard to isolate. The repertoire of terracotta figurines together with their cult affiliations seem to be as diverse as the society that produced them, including its native elements and outside influences. Especially in Cyprus, where many elements that characterise religion in the Hellenistic period were already in place even before Alexander started his campaign, the separation of native and external elements is even more complex. As Potter emphasises, perhaps the most significant feature of the Hellenistic period is the interaction between 'active' and 'passive' aspects of religion, resulting from the transformation of the political power structures and relations.[542]

From 'Astarte'/'Hathor' to Aphrodite/Isis? Royalty and Ideology

This section aims to bring more clearly into focus the interplay between political and religious ideologies in a Cypriot context. In Amathous, particularly, the shift of the political ideologies from *Basileis* to *Strategos* is also marked by the transition from 'Astarte'/'Hathor' to Aphrodite/Isis. Having said this, however, as shown throughout the whole body of this work, I do not imply a defining moment for this religious transformation, i.e. the Ptolemaic takeover: I refer to various complex medium-term processes or *conjunctures*, diverting religious forces and ideas into 'different' channels.[543] Through direct associations with the names and personae of these goddesses, the political elites seem to create an ideology, which is manifested in visual art and in a symbolic system which offers legitimacy. Nonetheless, after the establishment of specific divine-related qualities on the part of the political elites, attention was taken to communicate this politico-religious ideology to the public; otherwise the message would have been lost. This would create a sense of active participation of the non-elites in that socio-cultural and politico-religious system. An analysis of the relevant iconography and cult material, in terms of power and ideology, points in that direction.

The City-Kingdom Period

The understanding of the importance of the principal sanctuary and 'palace' as symbols within the Amathousian landscape would be a good starting point to address the involvement of ideology with political power. Their joint location on the hill of the 'acropolis', a place where no settlement

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542 Potter 2003, 408.
543 cf. Snograss 1991, 69.

activity has so far been noted, at least before the end of the first century BC,[544] directly associates them with each other and raises them above the houses of the ordinary citizens. Thinking through the senses might easily reveal the symbolic significance and the psychological implications of those edifices. The 'acropolis' buildings dominated the entire city and its immediate hinterland, thus creating an 'ideational' landscape.[545]

The complexity of the Amathousian royal ideological system would be more understandable if one was able to associate textual evidence with the iconography. Myth and logos are important cognitive tools for articulating the world around people.[546] The relatively small amount of mythological evidence related directly to Cyprus might easily mislead one into ignoring the mythological dimension of Cypriot religion; myth and ritual are undoubtedly related dialectically and a deeper understanding of religion is attempted from a synthetic study of the two.[547] Dialogue between archaeological and textual evidence is only to be encouraged, but it has to be admitted that such a practice is not unproblematic.[548] In the absence of adequate contemporary Cypriot textual evidence, however, one is almost totally dependent on iconography.

The direct relationship of the Amathousian *Basileis* with the local goddess is primarily established by the famous Cypro-Classical sarcophagus, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 69).[549] The sarcophagus is a major work of Cypriot art, and its unique iconography and the context of its discovery support the idea of the inhumation of an individual of important social rank or even the *Basileus* himself.[550] As has recently been argued in detail by Petit, all the symbols and the royal ideological connotations of the Amathousian dynasty can be seen on this sarcophagus.[551] It was found in one of the nine so-called royal built tombs of Amathous.[552] When one thinks of the context of the well-known built tombs of Salamis[553]

544 Hermary 2006b, 10.
545 Given 1991, 43–45.
546 Henrichs 2001, 224.
547 Bennett 1980, 256.
548 Osborne 2004, 6–7.
549 Tatton-Brown 1981, 74–83. For the most recent thorough discussion on the iconographic influences on the sarcophagus see Stylianou 2007.
550 Hermary 1993, 176, no. 9.
551 Petit 2004a; 2006b. Similar royal sarcophagi, influenced by Egyptian culture, can be found in ancient Phoenicia: see Woolmer 2011, 118–119, for example.
552 Christou 1996, 67–69.
553 Karageorghis 1967–1978; 1969, 23–50; 1999, 109–170; 2002a; Rupp 1988.

and Tamassos[554] in terms of architecture and grave-goods, the importance of the built Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Cypriot tombs can easily be inferred. According to Petit, the iconographic elements of the sarcophagus cannot be explained simply as decorative, or appreciated only because of their aesthetic value.[555] Those elements seem to have had a polysemic functional symbolism which served the royal ideology. 'Exotic' symbols of power, in a local politico-religious context, definitely legitimise the dominant position of the elites.

The sarcophagus was found almost complete and it still bears traces of paint. The lid is decorated with sculpted vegetation motifs and sphinxes. On one short side four Bes-like gods are depicted; its counterpart features four 'Astarte'-type goddesses like those depicted on the figurines from the sanctuaries and tombs examined earlier. On its long sides, flanked by 'trees of life' or 'sacred trees', there are processions of soldiers, horsemen and chariots drawn by plumed horses, perhaps depicting a royal parade from the life of the deceased, or most probably his funeral itself (i.e. a parade to the tomb like that in real life). Based on comparative study from other areas of the Mediterranean, Petit, analysing the motifs and the iconographic elements of the sarcophagus, and the implications of a probable functional mythology, sees an ideological message on the scene: "une circonstance *unique* du devenir du roi: son héroïsation".[556] 'Bes' constitutes the consort of 'Astarte' and a functional dialogue between those deities, the vegetal symbols and the scenes led to this ideological message.

Tatton-Brown suggests that the most important person depicted in the parade is the bearded figure who stands between two others in the second chariot and turns his head to the viewer.[557] In comparison with Assyrian parallels, where the king is always accompanied by two other persons on his chariot, this argument could be convincing.[558] Petit, however, has argued that the *Basileus* could be the second person on the first chariot of the same side.[559] This argument is supported both by the central place that this figure occupies, and by the two attributes, the parasol and the *mitra*,

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554 Christou 1996; Buchholz, Matthäus and Walcher 2002; Walcher 2005, 2009; Matthäus 2007.

555 Petit 2004a, 51.

556 Petit 2004a, 58; 2006b, 80–94.

557 Tatton-Brown 1981, 80.

558 Petit 2004a, 54.

559 Petit 2004a, 54.

that clearly distinguish it among others. The importance of the *mitra* has already been established when examining the male terracotta figurines. The same kind of turban is worn by the male sculpture found in the 'palatial' sanctuary (fig. 32),[560] as discussed above, and by a colossal head in the Louvre.[561]

It has been suggested that the figure of the Cypriot 'Bes' in Amathous—for whom we still lack a proper name[562]—amalgamating various qualities and attributes, was probably associated through a syncretistic process with many other male divinities associated with the renewal of life, such as Malika/Heracles-Melqart, Adonis, Osiris, Apollo, Dionysus and Zeus.[563] In this context it is worth noting that a Bes figurine has been found in an Amathousian Cypro-Archaic tomb.[564] Bes, an Egyptian god adopted in Cyprus after many modifications,[565] seems to have become the local avatar of the consort of the Amathousian goddess.[566] Although particularly popular in Cyprus, a horned 'Bes', such as those presented on the sarcophagus, is almost unknown elsewhere.[567] According to Petit, this might associate 'Bes' with the myth of the *Kerastai* that will be examined below. In ancient religion, the horn is a divine symbol of power.[568] In addition, it is possible that the Amathousian *Basileus* wore a bull's mask during ceremonies honouring the goddess. Therefore, in Petit's interpretation, the figure of 'Bes' might directly be associated with the *Basileus*. He concludes that the Amathousian *Basileus* seems to have presented himself as an incarnation of that god, who was the companion of the local goddess.[569]

560 Hermary 2000a, 133, no. 878, Petit 2002, 305.
561 Hermary 1889a, no. 532.
562 As in Sardinia, for instance, where the identity of the pygmoid god conventionally called Bes is uncertain, we do not know what the ancient Cypriots called this god: see Adelman 1971, 63.
563 Petit 2004a, 60–69; 2006b, 65–69; 2007b; Counts and Toumazou 2006; Tassignon 2009.
564 Karageorghis 1996, 13.
565 Wilson 1975, 93–100.
566 Prête and Tassignon 2001, 65; Petit 2004a; 2006b; 2007b, 98; Hermary 2007b, 91.
567 Wilson 1975, 97.
568 Azara 2003, 29, 36.
569 Petit 2004a, 68–69. It is also interesting to note that both 'Bes'—although in limited numbers—and bulls have been inscribed on Cypro-Archaic seals usually made from precious stones ('Bes': see Reyes 2001, 88–90; Bulls: see Reyes 2001, 92–93). Although the function of Cypriot seals is problematic and may have varied from period to period, they seem to have had an administrative function, and could have played a role in the circulation of certain politico-religious ideologies. On the problems and prospects of the study of seal use on Cyprus see Smith 2002; 2009, 246. For a brief introduction to the stamp seals of Cyprus in

Returning to the 'religious syncretisms' through textual evidence, according to Hesychius (fifth century AD), Malika is the name of Heracles in Amathous.[570] It is difficult indeed to disassociate this word from the Phoenician term *mlk*, which means king, sovereign.[571] Finally, it should also be mentioned that the origin of the city-kingdom's name, according to the myth, comes from the son of Heracles Amathous, or from Amathousa, the mother of the mythical *Basileus* of Cyprus, Kinyras.[572] Iacovou encapsulates exactly how Heracles, Melqart or Malika, "remained throughout the Iron Age, the island's principal, pancyprian male deity, a true smiting god and the protector of the ruling dynasties", something also supported by the coinage of Salamis and Kition, if we wish to move for a while outside the 'Eteocypriot' Amathousian context.[573]

While the 'Bes' figures are framed by ivy leaves, the 'Astarte' figures are framed by palmettes. It is clear that these vegetal attributes directly relate to the powers and symbolism of the figures which they frame.[574] Drawing on a variety of epigraphic, iconographic and textual evidence, Petit tries to identify the role of ivy in relation to the aforementioned Mediterranean male divinities. What emerges is the probable quality of the Amathousian 'Bes' as a renaissance symbol with funerary and eschatological character. These qualities might also be associated with the late Cypro-Classical ceramics decorated with ivy leaves, found mostly in burial contexts.[575] Three such ceramics come from the 'palace', and according to Petit, these might be associated with the cult of the male god venerated there.[576] While the vital force of 'Bes' and his relation to Heracles in Amathous might be attested by the colossal statue (of problematic date however) representing him as 'Master of the Lions',[577] his chthonic element can be attested by an architectural

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the Bronze and Iron Age see Reyes 2002. For the function of Cypriot seals see Reyes 2005. Those studies concur that Cypriot seals were used for various purposes: economic, votive, talismanic/'phylactic'.

570 Aupert 1984, 23, no. 43. For further discussion see *AKEP* 3(2): 97.

571 *AKEP* 3(2): 97; cf. Hermary 1987, 384.

572 Hermary 1980, 217; *AKEP* 1: 21. In modern literature Kinyras has usually been misinterpreted as the mythical *Basileus* of Paphos. A more careful reading of the myth, suggests that Kinyras was in fact the mythical *Basileus* of Cyprus, who was appropriated very early on by the Paphian *Basileis*.

573 Iacovou 2008a, 273–274; cf. Yon 2008, especially 159–160, for the case of Kition.

574 Petit 2004a, 61; 2006b, 69–76.

575 Vandenabeele 2002.

576 Petit 2004a, 64.

577 *AKEP* 3(2): 97.

relief where the god is presented as 'Master of the Serpents'.[578] Additionally, it has to be noted that in the Cypro-Archaic extra-urban sanctuary of Agia Irini dedicated to a male god, many bull figurines and minotaurs bear snakes—another attribute of Heracles—on their shoulders and their backs, providing a nexus of ideas that might link 'Bes' and the bull together. Glyptics from the same site represent 'satyrs' or horned 'daemons' of a non-defined identity.[579] I believe that the work of Counts on the 'Master of the Lion',[580] mentioned in the previous chapter, would be a good starting point for one to further investigate the relation of male divine imagery and royal ideology as we move from urban to extra-urban space in the future.

The conventional use of the 'Astarte' name when referring to the 'Cypriot Goddess' has been sufficiently commented on during the discussion of the terracotta figurines. Her probable qualities have also been investigated in that section. Her presence on the other short side of the Amathous sarcophagus, however, clearly shows her most direct relation with Iron Age Cypriot political ideology. The palmettes constitute one of the most interesting elements associated with the goddess and have been regarded as a simplified version of the 'sacred tree', associated with fertility.[581] Both the palmettes and the 'sacred tree' are placed on the so-called 'proto-aeolic' capitals. Such a fragmentary capital has been found in the 'palace'. As already discussed, 'sacred trees' and palmettes/'proto-aeolic' capitals were also respectively placed on the aforementioned krater with bulls, found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, and on the colossal Louvre vase. The lotus which decorates the upper part of the two short sides, also an attribute of the goddess, has been regarded as a symbol of fertility. It is usually held by the votive korai, found both in the sanctuary of Aphrodite and in the 'palace'. The so-called Phoenician palmettes, decorating the two edges of the long sides, and the palmettes on the *akroterion* of the lid, have similar connotations.

These symbols have been examined in relation to the sphinxes placed in heraldic position on the lid of the sarcophagus. At Amathous, the sphinxes should also be seen as attributes of the goddess.[582] They have been found in burial contexts, but also in the 'palace' and the sanctuary of Aphrodite,

578 Hermary 1981, 67–69; Caubet, Hermary and Karageorghis 1992, 137.
579 Reyes 2001, 132–133, no. 312, fig. 319, 193, no. 511, fig. 512.
580 Counts 2004; 2006; 2008.
581 Petit 2004a, 70.
582 Petit 2002, 27–28; 2004a, 74.

supporting incense burners related to her cult.[583] The symbolic significance of sphinxes is difficult to establish. In the Phoenician world the motif is associated with the cult of Astarte.[584] In Cyprus it has a funerary apotropaic meaning,[585] which is also apparent in the sarcophagus of the Metropolitan Museum. Its direct religious significance in relation to the cult of the local goddess, although difficult to explain, is apparent.[586]

Interestingly, as Petit notes,[587] on a unique incense burner from Cyprus,[588] the sphinx is replaced by a winged female, dressed in a long, double-belted, sleeved *chiton*, diadem, ear-rings, neck-band, long necklace and armlets (fig. 70). In her outstretched hands she holds a winged sun, the symbol of the Egyptian god Horus, associated with the power of the Pharaoh. In addition, parallels with 'Phoenician art', such as the silver bowl from Amathous,[589] show the young Egyptian Horus protected by winged gods. The female on the incense burner has been interpreted as the goddess herself.[590] A similar fragment of a statuette holding a winged solar disc, found in the Amathousian 'palace', has already been discussed in the figurines section.[591] The winged disc is a symbol of the Egyptian Horus, the living king. According to Petit, the wings of the goddess definitely allude to her celestial aspect.[592] He therefore interprets the sphinx and the winged female as the celestial symbols that protected the *Basileus*. Although this interpretation needs further elaboration, one should accept that the strong transformations of royal symbols found elsewhere in the Mediterranean, in a Cypriot context might indeed be also followed by transformations of similar meanings.

An interesting comment on the relationship between the winged disc, the bull, and the ruler is offered by the coins issued by the *Basileis* of Paphos, between about 460 and 400 BC.[593] Here, the winged disc appears on the obverse with a bull, sometimes with an *ankh* and the name of the *Basileus*, in full or abbreviated. This, in Given's interpretation, constitutes a direct

583 Hermary 2000a, 136–140.
584 Petit 2002, 298.
585 Hermary 1989a, nos 970–971; 2000a, 135; Solomidou-Ieronymidou 2001.
586 Karageorghis 1988, 93; Hermary 1994a, 121–122; Petit 2002, 297–298; 2004a, 76.
587 Petit 2004a, 76.
588 Bernhard-Walcher 1999, 202–203.
589 Karageorghis 1998a, 51, fig. 19.
590 Petit 2004a, 76.
591 For a further discussion on this sculpture and the symbolism of its religious iconography see Matthäus 2005, 21, 30–35.
592 Petit 2004a, 76.
593 e.g. Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 1991, 20–21, nos 34, 36–39.

association between the *Basileus* and the winged disk: "the disc is at the top, spreading its wings protectively over the bull, between whose legs is written the King's name. The sun may shine on rich and poor alike, but if the King can monopolise the symbolic sun, then he controls a far more substantial and useful phenomenon".[594] This is only one of the many examples of the repeated symbols, both in many city-kingdoms, but also in many monuments and artefacts. Hermary is right when suggesting that the Cypriot *Basileis*, regardless their 'ethnic' origin, used the similar iconographic language to express their power.[595] Such a repetition of symbols reveals a shared city-kingdom cultural system; by sharing a system of visual imagery the Cypriot *Basileis* project effectively the message of their power to one another. Independently of regional stylistic variation, which also differs from the Cypro-Archaic to the Cypro-Classical times, the Cypriot royal model (or 'un modèle royal chypriote' in Fourrier's words)[596] is shared by the 'Greek Salamis', the 'Phoenician Kition' and the 'Eteocypriot Amathous'.

The upper frieze of the sarcophagus is decorated with a motif, interpreted as *uraei* in a stylised form.[597] Although the *uraeus* might be associated with 'Bes', Petit regards this motif as an allusion to another avatar (to use his expression) of the Amathousian goddess, that of Hathor, who protects the dynasty, the *Basileus* and the royal house.[598] Amathous is the site where the greatest number of Hathor capitals has been found. Let us then discuss more fully the iconography and the context of those capitals.[599]

They usually comprise a base supporting a Hathoric head on top of which a *naiskos* (model sanctuary) frames an *uraeus* (the Egyptian sacred cobra), above which again lies a winged solar disc (fig. 25). They bear various symbols and vegetation motifs such as papyrus, 'sacred trees' and rosettes. The detailed studies of Parayre regarding the winged solar discs[600] and of Hermary regarding the Hathor capitals[601] have clearly identified the adaptation

594 Given 1991, 81.
595 Hermary 2001b, 35.
596 Fourrier 2007b, 109.
597 Tatton-Brown 1981, 80.
598 Petit 2004a, 78.
599 As this monograph was close to its final submission, the book of Carbillet (2011) on Hathoric iconography in Cyprus appeared. Unfortunately, I was unable to read and incorporate the evidence from this work.
600 Parayre 1990.
601 Hermary 1985; 1998b; 2000a, 144–149.

and transformation of Egyptian iconography within a Cypriot context. For instance, while the winged disc is absent from Egyptian monumental capitals, it is essential in most of the Cypriot examples. A hellenised style is adopted in the representation of the goddess. The cow ears are completely abandoned and the style of the face becomes more hellenised. Hermary's study has shown the distribution of Hathor images in city-kingdoms other than Amathous,[602] something which re-confirms a general cultural system shared by all the Cypriot Iron Age city-kingdoms. Vases made in Amathous, also decorated with Hathoric heads, have been found both in the 'acropolis' and in the necropolis. The use of the goddess image in a funerary context however, is very limited.[603]

The review of the Hathor capitals has shown that they are mostly found either in a sacred place where a female goddess is venerated, or in a 'palatial' context. This is the case with the so-called Vouni 'palace', Tamassos and Kition, where Hathor capitals have been found in the sanctuaries of the local goddess. Legendary events and mythological issues seem to be directly associated with the goddess but their meaning remains unknown to us. For example an Hathor capital found on the 'acropolis', instead of a *naiskos*, bears a panel showing a young man between two winged horses.[604] This man has been interpreted as a representation of Adonis,[605] though no supporting evidence is provided. Moreover, the crown of a colossal female head probably found in the area of Amathous depicts Hathor capitals between winged characters interpreted as satyrs and maenads.[606] Petit, nonetheless, interprets the male figures as 'Bes', and the female ones as personifications of the goddess, and argues that they allude to the same symbolism as the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus.[607] The probable associations of the *Basileus* with various male gods and the Amathousian goddess have already been established. If textual, especially contemporary, evidence revealed more details of Amathousian mythology, these scenes might indeed be much more tangible to the contemporary interpreter.

602 Hermary 1998b, pl. IV.
603 Hermary 1985, 681–682.
604 Hermary 1985, 668–669, fig. 14.
605 Aupert 1996b, 50; 2000b, 31.
606 Hermary 1985, 674–675, fig. 19. While Sophocleous (1985b, 133) states that the place of discovery of this sculpture is unknown, Buchholz (2000, 258) and Petit (2004a, 73) suggest that it probably comes from the area of Amathous.
607 Petit 2004a, 73.

Iconographic elements of Hathor heads, such as rosettes, 'sacred trees', solar discs, wings and *uraei* are also found on other Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical material. Their eclectic placement and context support the idea that they should better be seen as symbols of power instead of merely fashionable elements. To mention only one relevant example, the most famous sculptural head found in Palaipaphos is coroneted with a double crown that is decorated with a winged disc and rosettes. Identifying in this head the most important royal insignia of the period, Maier regards the statue as the representation of a 'priest-king'.[608] Considering the role of the Cypriot *Basileis* in the economy of metals, the qualities of Hathor in relation to metalworking activity discussed earlier should be kept in mind.

At this point I would like to challenge the prevalent proposition that Hathor is identified or assimilated, rather than merely associated, with the local goddess of Amathous, conventionally called 'Astarte'.[609] This proposition rests primarily on the fact that the two goddesses are believed to share many similar qualities. Nevertheless, in each geographic context, the nature and functions of the various divinities are not as clearly defined as the names assigned to them (usually by modern scholars) would suggest. Such theonyms usually fail to provide "meaningful references to broader religious or even sociopolitical contexts in Cyprus".[610] As Fourrier emphasises with reference to the Egyptian divinities during the Cypro-Archaic period, what is assimilated into the Cypriot culture is not the divinities themselves, but their image.[611]

As with Aphrodite and Isis, the iconography strongly supports the idea that two goddesses of distinct personae existed during the same period. In Egypt itself Hathor is a mother goddess who legitimises the power of the ruler, and a goddess of the deceased. In this context, it is worth noting that in Egypt, Isis, the goddess that will completely 'replace' 'Hathor' in a later Hellenistic Cypriot context, had been conflated with her already by the end of the first millennium BC. Before the 'official arrival' of Hathor on the island and originally in an Egyptian context, Isis had eclipsed Hathor in importance and appropriated some of her symbols and qualities. The image of 'Hathor', therefore, most probably came to Cyprus with the Phoenicians

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608 Maier 1989b, figs 40.1–2.

609 e.g. Karageorghis, J. 1977, 195; 2005, 99–100; Hermary 1988, 106; Petit 1995, 135; Anastassiades 2007a, 164.

610 Counts 2008, 21; cf. Counts 2009, 104.

611 Fourrier 2009, 102.

via Syria, where she was also associated with the cult of Astarte.[612] Because her attributes found analogous types within the Cypriot religious system, she was easily associated with the local goddess and adapted to the Cypriot tradition.[613] Her 'hellenised' style should also be taken into account. In effect, she was a 'Cypriot Hathor'. Consequently, just as quotation marks in calling the 'Cypriot Goddess' 'Astarte' are used, so they should too be used when referring to 'Hathor'.

A final point should be made regarding 'Hathor'. While the personae of the two goddesses, 'Hathor' and 'Astarte', co-exist, the funerary importance of the former in contrast to the latter is very limited in Cyprus. In addition, while the goddess who is clearly called Aphrodite at least by the fourth century BC, shows further evidence for a probable assimilation with the former 'Astarte' (as epigraphic and iconographic evidence already examined suggests), 'Hathor', by the Hellenistic period, totally disappears from the Cypriot scene.[614] This, along with the archaeological context where the capitals have been found, further enhances Petit's argument, for a politicised agenda primarily attributed to 'Hathor'.[615] In contrast to 'Astarte'-Aphrodite, who was a much more popular goddess, the presence of 'Hathor', already before the closure of the city-kingdoms, is more restricted.

The analysis of the finds and architecture of the 'palace' has shown that, similarly to the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus, a 'divine couple' seems to have had a prominent place within it. Let us only consider the placement of 'Hathor' and possibly 'Bes' in the '*Propylon*' of the 'palace', suggesting the direct association of the royals with these deities, and the assignment of the prosperity of the building and its connotations (i.e. political power, economic stability, and representation of the city-kingdom) under their divine protection. The existence of workshops and storerooms within the 'palace' and their association with the sanctuaries represent a major indication of this. Also, the discovery of an almost equal number of horseback rider figurines and chariot models with those of female figurines in the 'palace', in contrast to the main sanctuary where the number of

612 Karageorghis, J. 2005, 99; cf. Faegersten 2003, 263–266 for similar conclusions on the 'egyptianising' male limestone statuary from Cyprus.

613 Caubet and Pic (1982) have argued that Hathor was amalgamated with the 'Cypriot Goddess' during the Late Bronze Age. Based on the existing evidence, however, this interpretation remains problematic: Peltenburg 2007, 390; cf. Carbillet forthcoming.

614 Anastassiades 2007a, 170.

615 Petit 2004a, 79.

female figurines is much greater, and the discovery of arms and weapons as ex-votos in the ‘palace’, has been regarded as an indication of the existence of a warrior god protecting the Amathousian city-kingdom.[616]

Anthropological studies and comparisons with other areas of the Mediterranean have shown the king as a protector of the prosperity and the economy of his territory and his people, and a guarantor of the renewal of nature and life.[617] This is usually achieved through god-like qualities and an association with the divine. The direct association of the *Basileus* of Amathous with the local goddess is obviously illustrated by the fourth century BC dedication of Androkles in the sanctuary. In addition, the repetition of symbols and material types in all the archaeological contexts that have been mentioned (the ‘palace’, the main sanctuary, the ‘subterranean cult place’, and the burials) creates a material ‘vocabulary’ shared by elites and non-elites, and opens a window into ancient perception and cognition.

This is the appropriate moment to discuss further the importance of the so-called ‘*Baetyl*’ sanctuary. On the basis on the existing evidence, I would be reluctant to interpret the kore (fig. 30) and the draped male figure (fig. 31) found in that sanctuary as the cult statues of a divine couple.[618] These two late Cypro-Archaic statues from the Amathous ‘palace’ are similar to the horseback riders and kore terracottas discussed above, where the separation of mortal from immortal and royal from non-royal is impossible. A great number of incense burners with sphinxes have been found in the ‘*Baetyl*’ sanctuary (fig. 33). In contrast, at the ‘Kouros’ sanctuary, although incense burners have been found, none of them has a sphinx attached to it. According to Petit, the exclusion of this figure from the ‘Kouros’ sanctuary is intentional. By contrast, in the ‘*Baetyl*’ sanctuary, a few meters to the north, their inclusion is a systematic choice.[619] The difficulties in understanding the symbolic significance of sphinxes have already been established in relation with the sarcophagus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. However, its religious significance in relation to the cult of the local goddess is apparent.

616 Petit 1996a, 103–109.

617 Petit 1996a, 101–103, where the contribution of social anthropology in the understanding of the Amathousian history and cult has rightly been emphasised; cf. Petit 2004b, 14–17. For the most recent collection on divine kingship in Mediterranean and the Near East see Brisch 2008.

618 Petit 2002, 297. The idea of such a divine couple bearing the oscillation between fertility/life and violence/death as observed in the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus, however, exists not only for the case of urban sanctuaries, but probably also for the extra-urban ones: cf. Beer 2009.

619 Petit 2002, 297.

The *T*-shaped stone was found in a very coherent stratum and in a clearly cultic context (fig. 34). Its archaeological context and a comparison with parallels from elsewhere in the Mediterranean permit its identification as a *cippe* (if it represents an ex-voto) or a *baetyl*—usually a dressed stone (if it represents a cult idol).[620] The cult of a *baetyl* is known at the Palaipaphos sanctuary, the most ancient (from an Iron Age perspective) and renowned of Cyprus, according to myth, archaeology and texts.[621] The practice of offering aniconic *stelai* or stones is not uncommon in other Cypriot sites.[622] Petit, therefore, has argued in detail for the association of this object with the local goddess.[623] It has also to be noted that Hermary has argued for an aniconic cult of the goddess on the top of the 'acropolis'. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.238–242) we hear of the myth of the *Propoetides* in relation to Amathous, and Petit therefore, seeks a sanctuary of the *Kerastai* and *Propoetides* in the 'palace'.[624] *Propoetides* incurred the goddess' anger by refusing to recognise her divinity. She first made them prostitutes, but its metamorphic result (their turning to stone) is not immediate; hence, when they became stones, they did not look very different to stone-like, shameless prostitutes. In another passage of the same book (6.98–100), Kinyras is said to weep over the fate of his daughters, which were also transformed into stones. In analogy with modern similar texts, ancient prose and poetry is not always a safe way to extract precise information about antiquity. Modern historians and archaeologists usually forget this. On the other hand they may indeed represent cults or rituals in a refracted way. The myth, therefore, may be intended to explain the probable presence of *baetyls* or *stelai* in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Amathous.

Drawing an analogy with the cult of Astarte at Byblos and Sidon, where the king seems to have been assimilated with a companion god of the goddess, Petit also suggests that the same element might be present at Amathous.[625] Although Karageorghis proposed that *hieros gamos* (sacred

620 Petit 2002, 299–304.

621 I refer to the monumental *baetyl* found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, also depicted on Roman coins and clay seals, and mentioned by Tacitus (*Histories* 2.2–4) in the first century AD. For further late textual evidence see Karageorghis, J. 2005, 29–30. Although we lack any secure pre-Roman evidence for the *baetyl* cult at Palaipaphos, one should assume that the presence of *baetyl* cults from other Cypriot sites, such as Amathous and probably Golgoi and Idalion, also justifies the existence of the cult in Palaipaphos.

622 Sophocleous 1985b, 5–13; Petit 2002, 301–302.

623 Petit 2002, 299–304.

624 Petit 2002, 308–309.

625 Petit 2002, 304–308. For the sacred wedding of the king with Astarte cf. Greenfield 1987, 399. For the Phoenician kings' roles of religious functionary see Woolmer 2011, 53–54, 100–101.

wedding) took place within all the principal sanctuaries of the 'Cypriot Goddess',[626] the only existing evidence for this practice comes from the late mythological writings and, probably, a Roman inscription from Amathous which refers to *paranymphoi*; this inscription, taken in connection with the mainland Greek cults, has usually been related with the cult of Hera,[627] but it could more properly have played a role in the cult of Aphrodite instead.[628] Could this title work as a commemoration of an archaic cult? Moreover, how could the existence of such a ritual be explained in a post-Cypro-Classical context, if this was indeed related with the local *Basileis*, as suggested by Petit?[629]

Even if late sources cannot be taken as completely reliable, the legend recorded by Ovid (first century BC) could definitely hide some truth regarding the earlier Cypriot myth, and it is therefore relevant to cite it here. In *Metamorphoses* (10.243–297), Ovid narrates the story of the mythical *Basileus* Pygmalion, who fell in love with an ivory statue that he had carved for the goddess. It is worth noting that Pygmalion in the myth appears either as the father-in-law or the grandfather of Kinyras. Aphrodite gave real flesh and soul to the statue and Pygmalion praised the goddess, who graced with her presence the marriage she had made and soon a daughter was born to them, called Paphos, who gives her name to the island according to this source. The same story is repeated by Clemens Alexandrinus in his *Protrepticus* (4.51), who, quoting Philostephanus of the third century BC he says: "*So the Cypriot Pygmalion fell in love with an ivory statue. It was a statue of Aphrodite and it was naked. He could not resist the shape of the statue and he made love to it*".[630] In the same text (2.12–13), Clemens tells us that Kinyras had a woman named Aphrodite as his mistress. He thus transferred "*the lascivious orgies of Aphrodite from night to day, in his ambition to deify a harlot of his country …*". Elsewhere in the same text (2.29) it is said that "*Aphrodite, after having been put to shame for her love of Ares, courted Kinyras, married Anchises, entrapped Phaethon and loved Adonis*". In other texts (e.g. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.14.3–4) Adonis,

626 Karageorghis 1998a, 130.

627 Bennet 1980, 402, 616; Hadjioannou 2000, 914.

628 Karageorghis 1998a, 130–131; cf. Karageorghis, J. 2002, 167–168.

629 Petit 2002, 307.

630 For the translation see Karageorghis, J. 2005, 22; in *Loeb Classical Library*: "The man of Cyprus is captivated by its shapeliness and embraces the statue". The problem lies on the translation of the verb συνέρχεται.

the lover of Aphrodite is presented as the son of Kinyras. According to Serwint "the concept of Adonis as a vegetation god, whose annual sexual union with Aphrodite renewed the earth's fertility, recalls and parallels the myth of Inanna and Dumuzi".[631] Inanna was another goddess who might have contributed to the persona of the 'Cypriot Goddess'. Additionally, as has been suggested above, the *Basileus* of Amathous might have been associated with Adonis.

Cypriot mythology is very complicated, and indeed, in some cases very contradictory. Although sacred sex and sacred wedding are common features for the legitimisation of a ruler's power in other areas of the Mediterranean,[632] this interpretation in the case of Cyprus should remain hypothetical in the absence of more concrete evidence. Nonetheless, it is beyond question that pagan priests very rarely stood apart from the political order.[633] In any religion, priests act as the representatives of the community to the divine, on the one hand, and as the representatives of the divine to the community on the other. In a political system such as the Cypriot *Basileia* who could be a better representative to the divine than the *Basileus* himself? In the history of religions an hierophany can usually represent "the whole of the transcendent as well as the whole of human history within a single being".[634] In terms of power, "the relationship to the divine is as important as links to other people in establishing regimes of value",[635] which are based on a complex interplay between the sacred and the secular. The combination of epigraphic and iconographic evidence from a silver bowl found in a so-called royal tomb at Kourion[636] might provide further evidence for the special relation between the ruler's image-making and his special connection with the goddess to legitimise his authority. If we accept the reading of the word '*Basileus*', inscribed above a male figure wearing the Egyptian crown in a 'symposium scene', and '*Kypromedousa*', "she who holds sway, reigns over Cyprus" inscribed above the female figure reclining next to the male one, we could make a further suggestion:[637] the female figure might well represent the goddess, and not the queen as suggested so far.

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631 Serwint 2002, 329.
632 Frankfort 1978, 295–299.
633 Beard and North 1989, 1.
634 Ramsey and Ledbetter 2001, 15.
635 Gosden 2004a, 153.
636 Karageorghis, Hendrix and Neumann 1999.
637 Hermary 2000c.

The fact that the *Basileus* had a principal role in the cult of the goddess cannot be doubted. It is of great interest that this is the 'palatial' sanctuary where the head with the *mitra* (fig. 32) and the statuette wearing a bull's mask (fig. 29) have been found. Sacral kingship can be attested in other Mediterranean contexts where Astarte has a prominent role.[638] The central religious role of the *Basileus* for the era of the Cypriot city-kingdoms is without question in the case of Paphos. Unambiguous evidence for sacral kingship and divination is represented by a number of fourth century BC Cypro-syllabic inscriptions and textual evidence in which the *Basileus* (of the *Kinyrades* dynasty) is called *Archiereus* (chief-priest).[639] Such clear epigraphic and textual evidence is lacking for the other city-kingdoms. Nevertheless, iconography and individualities of cult clearly relate Amathous to Paphos, especially when it comes to the goddess' veneration.[640] This might better explain the interpretation of the *T*- stone as a *baetyl* as well.

Moreover, epigraphic evidence from other city-kingdoms which share the same cultural and political system might reveal more evidence about the relationship of the divine and the *Basileus*. For example, several Phoenician inscriptions imply a sacred communication between the divine and the *Basileus*.[641] The attribution of such qualities to the *Basileus* legitimises his power, emphasising his role as mediator with the unseen, between mortal and immortal. As Burkert argues the 'charismatic mediator's' achievement is to 'make sense of the unseen', "integrating innumerable confused signals into one mental whole", restoring the world.[642] The capacity of the Paphos *Basileus* as a divinator, to find orientation by understanding sacred signs through the art of divination, for instance, remains "an achievement of empathy and intellect".[643] Anthropological parallels have established that the king's power usually rested, above all, on his ability to act out his centrality and prestige in theatrical ceremonies. In addition, political roles and political powers are usually bound up with ritual power, which can take many forms.[644] As with the control of technology, which is apparent in

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638 Budin 2004, 108.
639 Masson 1961, 113–115, nos 16–17; Maier 1989b, 377; Collombier 2003, 143; Karageorghis, J. 2002, 156; 2005, 43–47.
640 Budin 2004, 117–120.
641 e.g. Given 1991, 206–207, nos 17–19, 21–22.
642 Burkert 1996, 118.
643 Burkert 1996, 157.
644 Edwards 2005, 125.

the Amathous 'palace', the control of ritual knowledge and the monopoly on such performances provides access and legitimation to the political power.[645]

Religious iconography usually reflects ritual.[646] The key feature which might suggest a sacral status for to the *Basileus* of Amathous is the statuette wearing the bull's mask (fig. 29) found together with the *baetyl*. Again, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.220–242) another myth is described, that of the *Kerastai*.[647] In O'Bryhim's interpretation this text provides a truthful description of a Near Eastern ritual performed on the island from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period.[648] The *Kerastai* belonged to a family from Amathous in which the men's foreheads were disfigured by horns. They were punished by the goddess for offering human sacrifices: "*While she hesitates to what she shall change them her eyes fall upon their horns, and she reminds herself that these can still be left to them. And so she changes their big bodies into savage bulls*".

In addition to the evidence related to the masks discussed in the previous section, and the figurines depicting a person wearing a bull's mask found in many Cypriot sites (Agia Irini, Kourion, Amathous), a fourth century BC life-size limestone head found at Golgoi clearly representing a dignitary wearing a bull's mask,[649] has been interpreted as a 'priest' (fig. 71).[650] A male limestone statue from Golgoi again,[651] holding a bull's head, might plausibly be connected with this tradition (fig. 72). Interestingly, on this statue a number of inscribed graffiti in alphabetic are identified, one of which can be read as Pnytagoras, a name associated with the royal house of Salamis. It is of course acknowledged that the chronology of this statue is problematic. While Karageorghis dates this to the mid-third century BC, Hermary dates it to the second half of the fourth century BC. The inscription has been dated to the Hellenistic period, but in Hermary's interpretation, one should not exclude the possibility that the statue might represent a Pnytagoras. This could indeed be a common name for Salamis. If we could make a stronger case for this statue to represent a *Basileus* we could clearly see the

645 DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 18.

646 Burkert 1996, 90.

647 For the *Kerastai* myth and its relation to the bull masks see O'Bryhim 1999.

648 O'Bryhim 1999, 3.

649 Hermary 1989a, 291; Caubet, Hermary and Karageorghis 1992, 140–141.

650 Yon 1980, 101; Hermary 1986b, 164. For a general discussion on Cypriot heads wearing bull's mask and being associated with a priest see Hermary 1986b.

651 Karageorghis 2000c, 248–249; Hermary 2001c.

royal ideology identified in Amathous also present in the extra-urban space, in relation to our previous discussion regarding royal imagery, political ideology and sacred landscapes.

Interestingly, next to the sanctuary of Agios Photios at Golgoi, a sanctuary probably related to the Salaminian territory, a similar statue wearing a bull mask has been found in the Athienou-Malloura,[652] a sanctuary probably related to the territory of a city-kingdom other than Salamis, probably Idalion.[653] A sixth century BC limestone sculpture found in Golgoi again, has been interpreted as a priest;[654] it represents a bearded male figure wearing a helmet of extraordinary character, at the top of which there is a bull protome, a clear sacerdotal indication. A syllabic script on the shoulder has been read as 'of the Paphian goddess'. This statue might well represent a 'priest-king' and it can again illustrate the relation of the royal families with the 'Cypriot Goddess'. In addition, this relation might well be illustrated on the sculptures found in the extra-urban sanctuary of Achna,[655] representing a female figure interpreted as a goddess holding a bull.

Based on iconographic and textual parallels from Cyprus and other areas of the Mediterranean, it has been suggested that the statuette from the 'palace', wearing a bull's mask, probably also represents a priest, or even the *Basileus* himself.[656] The bull evokes both natural and divine power and is already a very common element in ancient Mediterranean religions,[657] and indeed very familiar in the Cypriot tradition since the Bronze Age.[658] As we move from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age an increased taurocentricity in Cypriot religion can be noted.[659] A number of bull figurines have been found in the Amathousian tombs.[660] The iconography of bulls on the amphora from the sanctuary and on the monumental stone vases has already been discussed in relation to the inscription *a-na*. Also, masks depicting bulls, 'Bes' or horned males were discussed in the figurines section. Significantly, the mask element is not absent from the 'palace'.

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652 Counts 1998, 63.
653 Satraki 2012, 372–373.
654 Masson and Hermary 1993; Karageorghis 2000c, 109–108.
655 *SCE* 3: pls CLXXXV–CLXXXVII.
656 Hermary 1979; 2000a, 133, no. 877; Petit 1996a, 109.
657 Black and Green 1992, 47–51; Cauvin 2000, 123–125; Azara 2003.
658 For an early interpretation of the bull and its role in Cypriot religion see Dussaud 1950, 72–75. For a more recent collection and interpretation of the evidence see Hadjisavvas 2003a; Cluzan 2007.
659 Swinton 1996.
660 Karageorghis 1996, 29.

Hermary, discussing horned Bes-like features depicted on masks, rightly stresses the fact that the horns on the Amathous mask constitute a specific characteristic, influenced by the Phoenicians, underlying their symbolism of divine power.[661] Anthropological or ethnographic analogy can illustrate the ritual function of masks and their symbolism as signs of power.[662] Furthermore, the iconography and the mythology of the bull might provide a tangible link with the past religious ideology of the Late Bronze Age. It is significant then that a unique terracotta mask from Amathous, found in a burial context, represents a horned and bearded male (fig. 73).[663] The horns appear to be bovine and recall the horned cap or helmet worn by the 'Horned' and 'Ingot' gods of Late Cypriot Enkomi, who have been associated with the control of metal production and economy. In both cases (the terracotta mask from Amathous and the Late Cypriot statuettes) the iconography might suggest the myth of the *Kerastai*.[664]

Additionally, it has been suggested that the Enkomi 'Horned god', should probably be associated with the autochthonous Kinyras, the only indigenous male deity/hero preserved in the Iron Age memory, probably later fused with other male deities from the Aegean and the Near East.[665] The zoomorphic iconography with its associated ideology should be related with a local tradition tracing its routes back to an indigenous prehistory.[666] The companion 'goddess' of the 'Ingot god' has been the so-called 'Bomford goddess', a bronze female figurine now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, standing on a base in the form of a copper ingot; the 'goddess' has been characterised as a protector of fertility and of copper industry.[667] Should we regard the relationship of the Amathousian *Basileus* and the 'Cypriot Goddess' as the embodiment of this Late Bronze Age divine couple and its associated ideology? I believe that such a theory is in accordance with Iacovou's argumentation that, most probably, Late Cypriot cult practice was transplanted into the Iron Age, because of its association with a successful political and economic model based on the production and circulation of metals.[668] Coming back to the Cypro-Archaic image of 'Bes' in

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661 *LIMC* 3(1): 112.
662 Musée du quai Branly 2008.
663 Karageorghis, 1990, 9–10; 1993, 117, no. 33.
664 For the Amathousian evidence cf. Fourrier et al. 2004–2005, 82–83 and Reyes 2007, 11.
665 Dussaud 1950, 72–73; Webb 1999, 228.
666 Counts 2009, 113.
667 Karageorghis 1998a, 34; Webb 2000, 76; Iacovou 2008a, 274–275; Knapp 2009, 140–142.
668 Iacovou 2008a, 249.

Amathous Tassignon has successfully demonstrated how this 'Master of the Lions' (similarly to Hathor who was associated with the 'Cypriot Goddess') was also related to the protection of the mines.[669] A careful 'reading' of the Early Iron Age strata and iconography from sites such as the extra-urban sanctuary of Agia Irini could provide the links to understand the transplantation of cult from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age.

In ancient contexts, myth and history are usually culturally and conceptually synonymous.[670] The answers supplied by religious belief systems, particularly those of origin, are often provided in mythological form, which takes the form of historical narrative.[671] Myth therefore works towards the creation of the cosmic sense. The iconographic evidence suggests that Amathous is related to the mythical past of the island, and it is perhaps through this manipulation of that past that the Cypriot dynasties legitimised their power, defined the present with a reason and communicated it to the citizens. According to Theopompus (*FHG* 115.F.103.3), 'the companions of Kinyras' (the indigenous population) took refuge in Amathous after being chased out of Paphos by the Greeks of Agamemnon who came to settle there. It is even possible that Kinyria was another name for Amathous.[672] Such an autochthony legend could reinforce the anteriority of the Amathousians in Cyprus, and the mythological precedence of the local dynasty over the other *Basileis*.[673] This argumentation finds support in Iacovou's statement that what 'Greeks', 'Eteocypriots' or 'Phoenicians' were trying to create was "a direct association of political power with the Late Bronze Age cult centres and the management of a metals' economy".[674]

The existing mythological record related to Amathous cannot really further illuminate our enquiries. However, it seems likely that the horned 'Bes' functioned as one of the principal deities of Amathous, which according to Petit, through various associations with the other male gods, might be related to Zeus, in a later context.[675] It is important, at this stage, to note that

[669] Tassignon 2005.

[670] Henrichs 2001, 224. Calame (2003) also argues that the Greeks did not distinguish between myth and history in the modern sense of division, and attempts to understand the symbolic processes of discourse, often embedded in mythic narratives, by which people sought to understand themselves and their past.

[671] Renfrew 1994a, 48.

[672] Baurain 1981; 1984.

[673] Petit 1995b, 61–64; 2007a, 95–96.

[674] Iacovou 2008a, 272.

[675] Petit 2004a, 68; 2007a.

a number of leonine-featured masks interpreted as 'Bes' have been found in a Late Cypriot ritual context.[676] Mythological evidence from Salamis also connects that city-kingdom with the mythical past of the island. In one version of the myth, Teukros, the founder of the city-kingdom, was established in the island as the consort of the daughter of Kinyras, the mythical priest-king of Cyprus.[677] Interestingly, it has been suggested that the bull, associated with a male principle god, was probably assimilated with Zeus *Soter* in Salamis during the historic period.[678] Euagoras, the most important *Basileus* of Salamis during the Cypro-Classical period, is presented by Isocrates (*Euagoras* 12–14) as a descendent of Zeus.

Let us recall not only the presence of Zeus-Ammon and his association with Heracles and Pan in a Cypriot environment,[679] but also the direct associations that the Ptolemies create with Zeus, examined earlier in the Soloi section. This ideology could have been reflected on the coinage of the city-kingdoms where the depiction of lions, bulls and rams form common features.[680] I use only an example from Paphos that may illustrate such an amalgamation of Zeus and the bull: while some fifth century BC coins from the city-kingdom depict a bull on the obverse and an eagle on the reverse, on a fourth century BC coin we possibly have a Zeus on the obverse and an Aphrodite on the reverse.[681] It is difficult to establish the connections, but, at its core, a similar ideology shared by many city-kingdoms on the one hand, and a varied continuation and transformation of that ideology during the Hellenistic, on the other, seem to have existed.

The Hellenistic Period

At the turn of the fourth century BC, Alexander's successors were to disturb the long established political life of the Cypriot city-kingdoms. The Amathousian 'palace', last symbol of political autonomy, disintegrates and with it its symbols of political power. Although the precise reason and the manner of its disruption is not known, the layers associated with abandonment date between 301 and 294 BC. The first occupation, attested by seven coins, has been associated with the Antigonids and Demetrius *Poliorcetes* (306–294 BC), and the final destruction, attested by a coin of *Poliorcetes* and

676 Webb 1999, 220.
677 Yon 1980, 99.
678 Yon 1980, 99–102; 1993, 144.
679 Counts 2004; 2008.
680 Hill 1964.
681 Hill 1964, lxxiv–vi, pl. VIII. 7.

two of Ptolemy I from the destruction level, has been associated with the Ptolemies (sometime after 294 BC).[682] However, did the changes of political structures effect the religious and cultural system of the Cypriots, and if so in what capacity? Although I wholly share the view of the general cultural homogeneity of the material culture of Iron Age Cyprus, it is clear that each city-kingdom might have attempted to promote its own cults, which would have had some particularities, as a form of civic aggrandisement. How, therefore, would the passage of Amathous from political centre to periphery and its entrance to unitary government and administration effect its cult?

It is not until quite late in the Hellenistic II period (first century BC) that, architecturally, a reorganisation of the Amathousian sacred space on the top of the 'acropolis' can be noted, with the construction of the portico. The construction of the new sacrificial area could well date from the era of the city-kingdom. Furthermore, the majority of the Hellenistic figurines are quite late in date, belonging to the second and mainly first centuries BC. Although it should be acknowledged that the proposed chronologies are generally accurate, one should not always be stylistically 'shrink-wrapped', and should at least allow 'wiggle-room' of about fifty years.[683]

The fact that the city stopped functioning as a political centre definitely affected its religion. A discontinuation of the cult at the top of the 'acropolis', however, has never been proposed, and, indeed, the key ex-votos indicative of continuation from the Cypro-Classical to Hellenistic periods are the Tanagra style figurines. Besides, the earlier structures seem to have remained in use. On the other hand, what should be accepted, is the fact that a more supervised and systematic cult is observed after the second century BC, i.e. in Hellenistic II period, which (as discussed in the sacred landscapes chapter) is precisely the period when all the transformations become more remarkable. This phenomenon can be interpreted in two ways: either there was up to this stage a lack of a supervised will, and most likely of political will, to promote specific new cults, or the long-term religious traditions of Cypriots were so strong and prevailing that time was needed for new ideas

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682 Aupert 1996b, 53; Petit 1996c, 106–107; *ARDAC* 2007, 63; also personal communication with the excavator, T. Petit, January 2008. However, I was unable to find out on what grounds, other than numismatic, a 'destruction' instead of an 'abandonment' has been attributed; cf. Empereur 1995, 135–136.

683 i.e. see the difference in chronologies supposed by Hermary 2000a, 105 for no. 705, and by Queyrel 1988, 199–200, no. 838; or, Hermary 2000a, 110–111 and Queyrel, 229–230. For problems in the chronologies of Hellenistic figurines see Rotroff 1990.

to ferment. I propose that the answer lies somewhere in-between. This would further explain the quite late arrival of new highly 'politicised' religious elements, such as the cult of Isis, within its cultural environment.

Other archaeological and epigraphic evidence confirms a more active political presence in Amathous after the second century BC, something which is relevant with other Mediterranean regions and in accord with the evidence examined in the previous chapter. In the Hellenistic II period, a more supervised unitary administration can be noted. The reinforcement of the 'acropolis' walls with a new floor at the entrance of the northern gate and the construction of a new façade and trapezoidal tower for the northern rampart seem to date to that period.[684] Furthermore, a gymnasium seems to have existed in Amathous by the second century BC. An inscription, dating to the middle of the same century, indicates that a doorway and 13 column capitals were built in honour of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, and the gods *Philometores* and their children, by Onesikrates, the gymnasiarch.[685] The construction of the Doric porticos in the first century BC should probably be viewed in parallel with this inscription: the incorporation of ruler or imperial cult into porticos during the Hellenistic and Roman periods respectively, was widespread in the ancient Mediterranean, and is also found elsewhere.[686] Additionally, if we accept Flourentzos' identification of an *Arsinoeion* in the lower city of Amathous, where the cult of Isis finally prevailed in the Roman period,[687] a similar pattern in the development of cult, iconography and ideology observed at Cholades, can also be observed at Amathous. Based on the extant state of publication of the site, however, any further suggestions remain only speculative. Nevertheless, it has to be said that the cult of Arsinoe *Philadelphus*, which is directly associated with the cult of Aphrodite and Isis, is also clearly attested in Amathous from four inscriptions, one probably coming from the main sanctuary itself.[688]

An important decree from Amathous dating to the years of Ptolemy IV (180–141 BC) illustrates very well the practice and function of cult, and therefore is worth citing here:

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684 Aupert and Leriche 1996, 145–150; Balandier 2002, 334.
685 Mitford 1961b, 112–113, no. 14; Prête 2007, 121–122.
686 cf. Price 1986, 140–143.
687 Flourentzos 2007d; 2008.
688 Nicolaou 1993, 226–227; Hermary 2006b, 6.

> For good luck, in the year …
>
> Under the priest of *Kypros* [or *Kyprou*] Aphrodite, Charinos, son of Charinos, previous member of the college of *Strategoi*, previous member of the college of *gymnasiarchoi*, ex-magistrate, for the safe-keeping of the people of Amathous and of the crops. The *hegetor* Aristion, son of Antenor, ex-member of the college of *Strategoi*, ex-member of the college of *gymnasiarchoi*, ex-magistrate, proposed that the usual sacrifice during the expected celebration should be made everyday with all the care for those who cultivate the land and according to the ordered decree, so that during the year nothing harmful or painful happens to people. On the other hand, if something usual must be offered by the city for the sanctuary of Aphrodite, according to the established decree, the city should give all that, by virtue of its benevolence towards the people and its piety towards the deity.[689]

This text most probably refers to a sacrifice particular to Amathous, called *karposis*, as Hesychius (fifth century AD) informs us.[690] Most importantly, however, as Hölbl argues, such decrees, as expressions of the Ptolemaic ideology of the king as a whole, could reveal some basic aspects of the royal ideology and its use in the legitimisation of Ptolemaic power; the main concern of Ptolemaic decrees was to create a single ideological and cultic image, encouraging individuals of high status to express their loyalty openly "as a means to gain support for their regime and to counteract the resentment of the native population toward a foreign dynasty".[691]

First of all, the Amathous decree starts by emphasising the element of fortune (*tyche*), an idea that became an obsession during the Hellenistic period.[692] As mentioned earlier Tyche existed as a goddess, sometimes associated with Isis, and people would ask for her benevolence, since she was usually unpredictable and malicious. The Ptolemaic officials were highly involved in the cult. A well organised priesthood formed the links between the kings and the public. In the early second century BC the *Strategos* of Cyprus also received the title of *Archiereus* and was assigned responsibility

689 For the translation into English see Karageorghis, J. 2005, 109. There has been long discussion as to whether the epithet *Kypros* or *Kyprou* refers to Aphrodite or the priest; see *SEG* 38 (1988), no. 1500; Hermary 2006a, 8. It has also been suggested that the epithet *Kypros* in the masculine form, might refer to the ambivalent sexuality of the Amathousian goddess, mentioned by later sources: see Bonnet 1996, 83. For further discussion see Karageorghis 2010, 16, 18–19.

690 Bennett 1980, 615; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 353–354; Karageorghis, J. 2005, 109; Hermary et al. 2006b, 127–128.

691 Hölbl 2001, 106.

692 Aalders H. Wzn 1979; Pollitt 1986, 1–4.

for all the cults on the island, including that of the Ptolemies. In Amathous, the *hegetor*, ex-member of the college of *Strategoi*, ex-member of the college of *gymnasiarchoi* and ex-magistrate, was the chief-priest of the goddess. However, local people were also actively engaged within the cult. As Karageorghis suggest, this inscription might refer to Aphrodite by her ancient name of *Kypros*, related to her Homeric name *Kypris*.[693] This is their Aphrodite, who is the protector not just of crops but of the people themselves. As in the case of Cholades, where local traditions are respected and promoted, this official Ptolemaic decree emphatically takes into consideration the local population through the construction and reproduction of ideologies that confirm the continuation of traditional religious practices. We have here another important document in understanding the incorporation of existing traditional elements within the new political agenda.

The architectural elements in the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the 'acropolis' hill support a continuity of cult without any disruption. We have noticed a reorganization/transformation of space, but this does not suggest an abrupt ritual change. A 'Greek-style' temple is built only in the Roman period, while the Ptolemaic presence in the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period is epigraphically attested. It is now time to discuss in more detail the dedication to Sarapis, Isis, Aphrodite and the associated gods on behalf of king Ptolemy, queen Cleopatra the sister, and queen Cleopatra the wife, the gods *Euergetai*, and their children, discussed already in the Soloi section in relation to power and ideology. A high-ranking official dedicated an offering, probably a building, in favour of the king Ptolemy VIII. The patterns I suggested for the Soloi case for the *synnaoi theoi*, based on iconography, can be attested here epigraphically. In view of the *vacat* which is not repeated between Isis and Aphrodite, and of the absence of the title *Kypris* on record in all other dedications, it has been argued that Isis was assimilated to Aphrodite, rather than merely associated with her.[694] However, the study of the terracotta figurines has clearly shown that the personae of two goddesses existed at the same time. The role and some of the attributes of Aphrodite and Isis have already been observed in studying the Soloi cults

[693] Karageorghis, J. 2005, 109. For discussion on the epithet *Kypris* and its connection to Cyprus or to the quality of the goddess as protectress of the copper industry see Karageorghis, J. 2005, 2 and Hadjicosti 2008, 9.

[694] For discussion see *SEG* 38 (1988), no. 1501. Hermary et al. (2006b, 163–164) also seem to agree for a restoration Isis-Aphrodite rather than Isis and Aphrodite.

and the Amathousian figurines. Their connection to Ptolemaic cult and ideology has been established. Since this is the only epigraphic reference to Sarapis from Amathous and the association between Aphrodite and Isis, it has been suggested that this dedication was made by a foreign high official of the Ptolemaic court whose name is missing, and therefore it has no direct relation with the localisation of the cult.[695] According to this view, the dedication should be seen as a gesture of loyalty to the Ptolemies on behalf of a high official rather than as indicative of the establishment of Sarapis cult at Amathous. It could even be seen within the context of royal patronage and benefaction, which are also very actively present in other Mediterranean areas during this period.[696]

At this point one (in my opinion) misleading question put by Queyrel should be addressed: Queyrel asks whether, if we accept that the figurines from the deposit *MX* 318 do not come from the very well-known sanctuary of Aphrodite, an official cult of Isis and Sarapis existed on the top of the 'acropolis', and a second, popular cult of Isis and Aphrodite, lower down the slope in a sanctuary of secondary importance.[697] All the Isis figurines come from the deposit *MX* 318, and therefore their total absence from the time-honoured sanctuary of Aphrodite could reinforce such an interpretation. However, the actual total corpus of the sanctuary figurines is in any case very limited, scarce and damaged,[698] most obviously because of the continuous reuse of the site. Official, civic, public and private cults are not entirely separated, and at least for the case of Cyprus, a clear-cut distinction cannot be attempted. Binary concepts like public:private, local:foreign or official:civic might contain an oppositional contemporary bias,[699] especially in relation to Hellenistic cult in a Cypriot context.

The association of specific cults with the Ptolemaic troops in specific contexts, especially outside the main sanctuary, is a possible proposition that, to the current stage of research, we cannot test. For example, this could be the case with a third century BC inscription mentioning the construction of a temple in the Amathous area and the plantation of trees dedicated to Hera by someone called Simos.[700] Even in that case, however, the

695 Anastassiades 2009a, 147.
696 Shipley 2000, 86–102.
697 Queyrel 1988, 29–30, 64.
698 Queyrel 1988, 20, 205–235.
699 Knapp 1996, 86 (citing Bruner); cf. Connelly 2007b, 5.
700 Hirschfeld 1996, 230. For a recently found epigraphic document attesting to the existence of Ptolemaic troops at Amathous see Aupert and Flourentzos 2008.

cult of Hera, although rare, is attested in Cyprus at least as early as the fourth century BC,[701] as Cypro-syllabic inscriptions inform us, and it could be connected with the 'hellenising' political ideology of the *Basileis* and the contacts of Cypriots with the Aegean. Landscape, settlement and funerary archaeology might enable us set the criteria, even if, as explained in the previous chapters, it can be a very difficult task for the case of Cyprus. As explained, Ptolemaic ideology should better be regarded as a powerful combination of indigenous traditions and royal agendas, which was constructed and exercised primarily by foreign officials, and communicated to the Cypriot population. I therefore believe that, based on the existing evidence, it is a circular argument to propose a separation between an official and a popular cult for Isis. As examined in the Soloi section, the cult of Isis arrived in Cyprus through the Ptolemaic ideology and cult, and also through merchants and sailors, but, as the examination of the terracotta figurines has shown, fully integrated to the local tradition and communicated to the locals.

Further Discussion

The elements of 'religious syncretism' and 'henotheism', are among the major factors that form the framework of the general religious outline of the period and are directly related to cultural 'homogeneity'. Further discussion on those issues will be made in the final chapter of this monograph, where a more general conclusion about the issue of a material cultural *koine* from *Basileis* to *Strategos* will be formulated. What the study of the Amathousian archaeology of cult has shown, however, is that 'religious syncretism' (in the form of multiple and multi-layered transformations) already exists very markedly in Cyprus by the era of the city-kingdoms.[702] This 'religious syncretism' has the capacity to internally reshape Cypriot religion and culture, according to the strongest contemporary Mediterranean political, economic and cultural trends.

As the Ptolemies are ideologically associated with Isis, Aphrodite, Sarapis, Zeus, the Dioscuri, Dionysus, Pan, etc. (most of these associations were established in the Soloi or in the Amathousian terracotta figurines sections) they replace the *Basileis*, who in Amathous proved to be associated mainly with the personae of 'Astarte-Aphrodite', 'Hathor' and 'Bes'. These associations readily facilitate the new political forms of the Hellenistic world.

[701] Bennett 1980, 401.
[702] Sophocleous 1984.

Zeus, for example, is associated with many local deities in the Mediterranean,[703] one of them Baal, whose existence and importance in a Cypriot city-kingdom context, has been discussed in the 'subterranean cult place' section. It has been mentioned that 'Baal' in Cyprus is usually assimilated to 'Zeus-Ammon' and 'Pan', who are both directly associated with Ptolemaic power and ideology. The probable association of the bull with the god 'Bes' and the *Basileis*, as well as the probable association of the bull with Zeus has been emphasised. The cult of Zeus, however, is epigraphically attested in Amathous from the third century BC. Because all these transformations had already started within the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, there are great difficulties in identifying the Cypriot deities and the character of the religious transformations associated with them. A specialised study on the various *epiclesis* (epithets or titles) attributed to the gods, could reveal some further evidence.

Although clear evidence about such assimilations is lacking, thinking about the psychological implications of that 'religious syncretism' and artistic production, and the open/accommodating attitude to outside influence in a polytheistic context,[704] is another way to better understand the character of those transformations, and the production of a vocabulary for communication between the ruler and the ruled. Additionally, as Counts rightly observes, when studying the relationship between cult, iconography and identity in ancient Cyprus, we need to move beyond the simple recognition of cultural influence and examine the local responses to the various episodes of interaction; "[c]onsequently, it is in the context of the *longue durée* that we should be studying the processes of hybridization and the interventions of cultures in between monolithic constructs".[705]

During the Ptolemaic rule of Cyprus, previous ideas shaping the Cypriot cultural and religious system of meanings seem to have been absorbed. Some symbols of power, such as the image of 'Hathor', are no longer produced, because the elites, who promoted them, are missing, but the same ideology persists: fertility, protection, salvation and regeneration. As in the previous studies on sacred landscapes and Soloi, similarly, in Amathous, there is evidence that the symbolic associations that the Ptolemies create are meaningful, powerful and purposeful. They are mainly connected

703 Lévêque 1999, 185.
704 Shipley 2000, 153–156; Counts 2008, 14.
705 Counts, 2008, 14–15.

to deities that offer salvation and protection, ideas which also seem to be highly involved in the previous political system. The main epithets used for the Ptolemaic dynasty are *Soteres* (Saviours) and *Euergetai* (Benefactors).

Manifestations of Ptolemaic ideology can be seen in two very official expressions of power and administration: firstly, the very early Ptolemaic bronze coinage on the island bears the head of Aphrodite on the obverse and the characteristic Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse, thus establishing ideas of the divine authority of the island's patron in tandem with the new Alexandrian rulership.[706] Secondly, in the state-archives of Nea Paphos, the so-called *Nomophylakion*, where documents of various kinds are kept, the sealings represent a number of figures and symbolism related to Ptolemaic power, such as royal portraits or representations of Isis, Aphrodite and Zeus, but also, by the very end of the first century BC, symbols of the Cypro-syllabic script.[707] As in the era of city-kingdoms, the reassurance of the people's prosperity and consent is fully taken into consideration in the construction and reproduction of royal ideology.

3.4. Concluding Remarks on Soloi and Amathous Studies

As argued when 'setting the scene' for this project, even if the archaeology of religion is extremely complex, multifaceted and not adequately theorised, the examination of Soloi and Amathous cult places has served as a window upon the religious system of the Cypriots in relation to their cultural and political ideologies. The review of the sacred material from these sites has shown that the system of meanings of the ancient Cypriots is to some degree archaeologically recoverable. It has also clearly been shown that the relationship between religion, politics and society is not one of simple reflection, but one of constitution. One, however, needs to be extremely careful when trying to explain ancient systems of meaning and cosmological issues. The numinous can indeed be discussed but not defined.

Issues related to the development of 'religious syncretism'—a term usually having pejorative connotations—'co-existence', 'adaptations' and 'assimilations' are very important in the creation of new cultural forms, as part of the creation of new identities.[708] Religions are continually recon-

706 Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 1991, 35.
707 Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1993, 344–347.
708 Edwards 2005, 119.

structed through various ongoing processes of synthesis and interplay and the religious, the political and the economic are all 'inextricably combined'.[709] Interpreting religious or even cultural continuity or change, therefore, is indeed on a great extent a matter of academic perspective. Additionally, instead of trying to clearly locate or define distinct social or ethnic groups in the religious material culture of Iron Age Cyprus, referring both to the city-kingdoms as well as to the Hellenistic period, the Soloi and Amathous cases have shown that we should better acknowledge that such a 'syncretism' of cults might have allowed individuals to be active in more than one religious tradition, while several traditions may be combined in one religious activity. The 'inter-mixing' of deities, both regarding the persona of those deities but also regarding their common cult places, seems to have been much more flexible than nowadays, and indeed part of ancient Cypriot Iron Age identity.

A distinction between ritual and secular action or between the symbolic and the practical, cannot be established when one deals with ancient Cypriot society, and disjunction between the two can result in a serious misapprehension of the nature of Iron Age 'rationality'. In other words, "cosmologies are not abstract ideological/symbolic systems but enable people to understand the world and to get on in it by providing a logic for action and an explanation of the universe".[710] The question is equivalent to asking whether the same system of beliefs and symbols are in operation at the various city-kingdoms. A categorical answer is not possible, and some variation from site to site is definitely to be expected. However, following Renfrew's methodology,[711] a considerable range of specific symbols and iconography is found in each location, with a good degree of overlap between them, and it is reasonable to infer that a similar system was in operation in all the Cypriot city-kingdoms. By citing comparative references to material from city-kingdoms other than Soloi and Amathous, this chapter has attempted to illustrate this shared material culture. The city-kingdom 'pantheon', if such a thing ever existed, has therefore been considered as part of a somewhat shared system, with specific individualities in each site. In addition, the case of Amathous has further shown that any ethnic divisions in its religious and cultural system, whether within the city-kingdom or in contrast to

709 Insoll 2001, 22.
710 Brück 1999, 326.
711 Renfrew 1994a, 54.

others, cannot be noted. This is a further criterion to produce a more general picture on the process of response and incorporation of Cyprus into the so-called Hellenistic political, cultural and religious *koine*, something ventured mainly in the figurines section.

Our case-studies have mainly treated power, religion and ideology in an 'urban' or 'peri-urban' space, due to space limitations and availability of excavated published reports. Nonetheless, 'extra-urban' or 'rural' space has been treated in the landscapes chapter and through references and comparisons throughout this work. It has therefore become clear how extra-urban space was part of this ideological and cultural system. The political unification of the island, affected its extra-urban sacred space, as it affected its Hellenistic identities. Through references to evidence uncovered from the sites of Arsos, Pyla, Athienou-Malloura, Golgoi, Kafizin etc. we have noted that both in a city-kingdom environment and a Hellenistic one, extra-urban sanctuaries were incorporated into that system, which followed a process from segmentation to unification. The future detailed and scientific publications of sites such as Athienou-Malloura and Rantidi-Lingrin tou Digeni, for example, are eagerly awaited to further illustrate the above statements.[712]

The change of political structures had also an effect of change and variation on the existing religious and cognitive systems. This investigation has aimed to show that specific human concerns, such as fertility, death, protection, salvation and regeneration are highly involved in that process. Similar ideas continue, but are bombarded by elements from the Hellenistic *koine*. Symbols of power were definitely transformed, as they were transformed in any case from the Cypro-Archaic to the Cypro-Classical, or within those periods themselves.[713] Undoubtedly, the royals and the administrative officers had access to this system of meanings, created within a direct association with the divine. The elaboration of religious symbols associated with the elites seems to have produced cultural depth, emotional intensity and provided a means for communication between the ruler and the ruled. Already by the Cypro-Classical period and its strong 'hellenising' aspects the way in which Cypriots perceived themselves changed. The complexity of symbolic composition in the way in which the ancient Cypriots constructed the world was becoming less 'complicated'—in *our* eyes! I would modify

[712] Toumazou, Kardoulias, and Counts forthcoming; Raptou 2009.
[713] Given 1991, 193.

Given's proposition that "by the end of the 4th century BC the cultural system we have reconstructed was no longer in existence"[714] with the view of a profound transformation through time.

On the other hand, elements of continuity are in place. For instance, in the very city of Amathous a Roman inscription might reveal evidence of continuity for the archaic cult of the *baetyl*.[715] Also, two post-Cypro-Classical colossal statues (the one very fragmentary) of a Bes-like god have been found.[716] Hermary also, considers how the survival of 'ancient' prestigious names, mainly of Cypriot *Basileis*, in the corpus of Cypriot onomastics in the Hellenistic and Roman Amathous, might relate to the persistence of particular Cypriot city-kingdom identities.[717] Undoubtedly, the 'hellenised' cultural and political trends of the Cypro-Classical period internally supported a greater uniformity and assimilation of the Hellenistic Greek world and ideology. The development of the cult of the 'Cypriot Goddess' comprises the most evocative symbol of connections and associations of this political and popular ideology.

From 'Astarte'/'Hathor' to Aphrodite/Isis: the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* is also marked by the transition from 'Astarte'/'Hathor' to Aphrodite/Isis. As has been emphasised, the royal ideologies are in both cases directly associated with the names and personae of those goddesses. Linear and chronometric time is not a very useful notion while trying to explain when and how exactly the transformations and associations of these goddesses, or any other cultural transformations, took place. However, what appears to be obvious is that, from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, 'Astarte' (already from the Cypro-Classical) is 'replaced' by Aphrodite, and 'Hathor' by Isis. The archaeological, the epigraphic and the textual evidence, clearly illustrates that the figure of the 'Cypriot Goddess' with its associations, becomes a veritable mark of Cypriot cultural identity. As Iacovou notes, the complex phenomenon of the 'Cypriot Goddess' "transcends the sphere of religion and cult and, irrespective of affinities with earlier and contemporary Near

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714 Given 1991, 190.

715 Aupert 1986, 371–372. An inscription found at the site—if it has been translated correctly—refers to the cult of the 'Seven within the *Stelai*': cf. Mitford 1946, 40–42.

716 Aupert 1996b, 60. Although it has also been suggested that the colossal 'Bes' statue is of Cypro-Archaic date, most scholars have dated it into the Roman period. For a recent discussion on the controversy regarding the chronology of these statues see Hermary 2007b, who, based on stylistic grounds, dates them in the early Hellenistic period; cf. Tassignon 2009.

717 Hermary 2008, particularly 99–100.

Eastern sacred environments and Oriental cultic practices, acquires a distinct cultural character that is readily identifiable in the island's material culture".[718]

Such cultural or religious transformations should not necessarily be seen as primarily external impositions, but rather as equally internal reactions to the contemporary, most powerful cultural and political Mediterranean trends: Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Greek and finally Ptolemaic Greek. On the other hand, the political structures of each period appear to have a say in that process of transformation. However, they first need to communicate these ideas and ideologies to the people before they establish them. This process needs time, and this would be an additional explanation for the difficulties one faces in grasping the exact moment and character of those religious and cultural formations. While change as organisation is based on novel social premises, variation allows various transformations and accommodation of novel conditions within existing social premises.[719] Despite the fact that the Ptolemies brought about some sort of unifying forms, at the same time they promoted multiple forms of power, addressed to different groups of people. This sort of power forms are clearly imbedded in material culture. The detailed study of one category of votive material, namely the Cypriot Hellenistic 'portraits', will further establish the character of change and variation within the Cypriot material culture.

718 Iacovou 2007b, 586.
719 Gamble 2004, 174.

CHAPTER FOUR

CYPRIOT 'PORTRAITS'

4.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the research questions of this project through a specific material group, the Cypriot portrait-like sculpture. The main concern, therefore, is to re-examine the Hellenistic portrait-like sculpture deriving mainly from the Cypriot sanctuaries, connecting them with issues of social power. Epigraphic evidence is also taken into consideration, for indicating the existence of honorific royal portraits on the island. Even if no securely identifiable royal portraits seem to have survived, the study of relevant statue bases can significantly contribute when studying issues of social power and the archaeology of religion. In particular, three spheres of enquiry should be isolated: 1. Is it legitimate to talk about Ptolemaic portraits in Cyprus? 2. Can any ideological meanings be assigned to these sculptures that would associate them with social power, creating a *lingua franca* for communication between the ruler and the ruled, locals and settlers, elites and non-elites? 3. How can the development of the local Cypriot tradition and its response to the influences of the Hellenistic *koine* be traced from the study of one particular votive type?

It should be stated from the beginning that the aim of the present chapter is neither to assign these anonymous Cypriot 'portraits' names, nor to analyse them diachronically through fixed stylistic dating. Hellenistic portraiture has been widely studied and analysed, with royal portraiture receiving particular attention. Scholars working on individual identifications—mainly in museum catalogues—and dating have usually been less interested in wider changes and geographical variations in the royal image. Some of these writings should probably be seen in relation to modern ways of thinking and efforts to present historical narratives as more interesting, ordered and comprehensive, especially when it comes to museum studies and heritage management. In recent years, however, a more contextual approach to the study of Hellenistic royal portraiture has been ventured. Special credit should be given to the works of Smith[1] and Connelly,[2] which

[1] Smith 1988; specifically for Ptolemaic portraits cf. Smith 1996.
[2] Connelly 1988.

are both influential and fundamental to the present study. While the former work regards the Hellenistic ruler portraits from a wide, pan-Mediterranean perspective, the latter focuses on the Cypriot heads, some of which were previously identified with specific Hellenistic kings and queens.

The foundations of this chapter are therefore already laid. Nonetheless, I focus here on a review of the existing literature through the particular methodological lens of this project. Interestingly, the main works of Smith and Connelly on 'portraiture' were both published in 1988, so that similar conclusions regarding Cypriot sculptures were reached independently but neither scholar was able to engage with the other's work. Bringing together the analyses and conclusions, particularly of those two works, and benefiting from the more recent trends of archaeological thought, I suggest an alternative approach, connecting these 'portraits' with issues of social power, as discussed when 'setting the scene' of this project.[3]

Royal cult was one of the most important aspects of religious and political life in the Hellenistic world, with the royal Ptolemaic cult being of specific relevance to Cyprus. Since royal cult is directly related to Hellenistic portraiture, it is important to examine in more detail this Hellenistic religious innovation before turning to the sculptures themselves. Then a brief background to portrait studies, and particularly Hellenistic portraiture, precedes discussion of the Cypriot heads that will be approached from two different angles: one typological and one ideological. The latter approach will put forward issues of social theory related to agency, psychology, identity and cognition, in order to shift the mode of enquiry from true 'portraiture' to a more social conception of style. It is hoped that another more 'flexible', 'non-dogmatic' approach can be developed.

4.2. Ptolemaic Cult

Religion played an important role in the typology of the Ptolemaic royal image. Within the Hellenistic monarchic structures, the royal cult gave the monarchs an additional ideological support for their power.[4] The Ptolemaic royal cult and its patronage should therefore be briefly examined, if one wants to understand the function and symbolism of statuary, which played a prominent role in defining and expressing the character of Ptolemaic king-

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[3] For a preliminary attempt to propose an alternative approach to the Cypriot 'portraits' see Papantoniou 2008b.

[4] Chaniotis 2003, 441; Habicht's (1970) work on Hellenistic ruler cult is fundamental.

ship. In keeping with the methodological and theoretical considerations of this monograph, it should first be stated that the religious significance of the royal cult was highly politicised. The Hellenistic kings seem to have exploited their cult in order to underscore the 'charismatic nature' of their rule, and therefore, such a cult was usually based on an 'elaborate theological background' combined with cultic elements of royal ideology.[5] Additionally, ruler cult played an important role in binding the kingdom together.[6]

Complex issues lie behind how it became possible for 'Hellenistic society' to understand and accept the idea of the 'divine ruler'.[7] Habicht's work marked a new departure on the study of the subject,[8] reversing the traditional approach: instead of starting from the assumption that Hellenistic kings imposed their worship on the population, he examined the cults from the point of view of the worshipper.[9] He convincingly argued that the city-cults to the Hellenistic kings were spontaneous expressions of gratitude and expectation for royal benefaction. As Potter argues, the cult for humans reflects a melding of civic interest and divine location in a new way rather than being an altogether new phenomenon.[10] The institution was probably based on a fusion of Egyptian and Greek elements, at least when it comes to the Ptolemaic cult. The religious conception of Pharaonic Egypt, which regarded the Pharaoh as the divine earthly ruler, should have played a role in the shaping of the Ptolemaic cult.[11] At this point, we have to ask ourselves: Did ancient people living outside Egypt indeed perceive the Ptolemaic rulers as gods? Do divine honours always equal deification? Are Hellenistic divine cults of mortals anything more than honours?[12] Like the case of the Roman imperial cult,[13] questions concerning the religiosity of the Hellenistic ruler cult should indeed be raised: in other words, was this cult a religious phenomenon, or rather a matter of practical politics?

Interestingly, it has also been argued that, generally speaking, the thinking behind royal cult was probably more Greek than Egyptian, deriving from

5 Chaniotis 2003, 437, 439.

6 Thompson 2003, 115.

7 Pollitt 1986, 271.

8 Habicht 1970.

9 cf. Murray 1972, 427.

10 Potter 2003, 416.

11 Fraser 1972, 214; Pollitt 1986, 271; Ashton 2001; Potter 2003, 419.

12 cf. Price 1984, 9, 13–15, 22–25, 51–52; Walbank 1984, 87; Samuel 1993, 183; Shipley 2000, 156.

13 Price 1984, 15–16.

the 'hero-cult', which had been long-established in the Greek world.[14] The Hellenistic royal cult itself derives from Alexander by virtue of his divine origin and the fact that he was himself, in a sense, a god.[15] With the exception of the Antigonids, who followed more traditional Macedonian customs,[16] all the *Diadochoi* captured this idea of the king's divinity as the justification of their right to rule; the Hellenistic royal cult and its imagery therefore, grew from this idea.[17] Probably with the exception of Arsinoe's II cult, the wide diffusion, popularity and persistence of Alexander cult is unparalleled both in relation to the cult of earlier mortals and to that of later kings.[18] Alexander, as a mortal who had done great deeds and as a descendant of a family that claimed Heracles as its ancestor, was himself a natural subject for a hero cult. In addition, even if the stories about his miraculous birth and his visit to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in Egypt (where he was probably greeted by the priests as the son of Zeus) are not clear in the ancient sources, they further contributed to the perception of his cult.[19] Finally, there was a practical need to put his rule over his subjects on a new footing. As Pollitt puts it, "tradition, his own temperament and hard political realities were combined to affirm his divine status".[20] Deification provided to Alexander a way out of the impasse without the use of force; his deification equals a legal approval and acknowledgment of his power.[21]

The formalisation of the royal cult was taken on by the Ptolemies. By associating himself with Alexander, Ptolemy I also tried to procure divinity for himself; hence his successful effort to receive and transfer the corpse of Alexander in his capital city and the minting of coins of Alexander and himself with the attributes of Zeus-Ammon.[22] In addition, he took the decisive step in making the deification of the Ptolemaic dynasty a state matter, by elevating Alexander to the level of a state god and by making the priest of Alexander the highest state priest in the land.[23] However, he never claimed

[14] Price 1984, 32–40; Pollitt 1986, 271, 273; Ashton 2001, 16.
[15] Bosworth 1988, 278–290.
[16] Billows 1995, 42–43.
[17] Pollitt 1986, 271; cf. Bosworth 1988, 278.
[18] Chaniotis 2003, 435.
[19] Bosworth 1988, 278–284. For a recent reassessment of the mediation of Alexander's cult to the Egyptians see Collins 2009.
[20] Pollitt 1986, 271.
[21] Pollitt 1986, 271–272.
[22] Hölbl 2001, 93–94; cf. Pollitt 1986, 272–273.
[23] Hölbl 2001, 94. For the relations between the power of the Egyptian temples and the priests and that of the Ptolemaic kings see Thompson 1989 and Gorre 2009.

honours for himself as a god. This step was taken by Ptolemy II *Philadelphus*, who around 280 BC arranged for the formal deification of his parents, Ptolemy I and Berenice I, as the 'Saviour Gods' (*Theoi Soteres*) and established the lavish festival of the *Ptolemaia*, which was eventually developed into a quintessential festival in honour of the Ptolemaic dynasty.[24]

Then, Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe II were officially deified, while still living, as the 'Sibling Gods' (*Theoi Adelphoi*), probably following the example of *hieros gamos* between Zeus and Hera, and were offered worship in the shrine of Alexander.[25] This crucial development in the Ptolemaic state religion was clearly reflected in the changing imagery of Ptolemaic coinage.[26] After the death of Arsinoe around 270 BC she was elevated to an individual goddess and her cult eventually became of great politico-economic importance for the state (chs 2.4.2 and 3.2.3).[27] After the time of Ptolemy II, each successive king and queen was deified after his or her accession and practice of the cult became an act of patriotic allegiance.[28] Ptolemy III and Berenice II were incorporated into the cult as the 'Benefactor Gods' (*Theoi Euergetai*) and the title of the priest of Alexander was correspondingly extended. However, as Hölbl argues, one must be careful in distinguishing between the founder cult and the dynastic cult fully established by Ptolemy IV for Ptolemy *Soter* and the ruling couple. Ptolemy IV added to the dynastic cult that of the *Theoi Soteres*, which had been established by *Philadelphus* and had remained independent of Alexander's cult up to this time; thus all of the Ptolemaic couples appeared in the title of the priest of Alexander in their historical order including the current ruling couple.[29]

Various categories of the Ptolemaic royal cult can be established. Ashton separates five main aspects of the religious representations of the Ptolemaic royal image:[30] 1. Ptolemy as Pharaoh; 2. association or assimilation with an established deity; 3. ruler cult; 4. dynastic cult; and 5. temple-sharing god (*synnaos theos*). It would be beyond the scope of the present study to analyse each aspect separately. Instead, in this monograph, the royal

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24 Walbank 1993, 213; Kahil 1996, 80; Hölbl 2001, 94; Chaniotis 2003, 438–439.

25 Walbank 1993, 213; Hölbl 2001, 94; Pollitt 1986, 273.

26 Pollitt 1986, 273: a golden octadrachm issued by Ptolemy II shows on the reverse portraits of Ptolemy I and Berenice I with the inscription *Theon*; on the obverse of the same coin are portraits of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II with the inscription *Adelphon*.

27 For discussion on the date of Arsinoe's death see Cadell 1998.

28 Pollitt 1986, 273.

29 Hölbl 2001, 95, 287; cf. Walbank 1993, 214.

30 Ashton 2001, 16.

cult has so far been seen as a unified phenomenon. Nonetheless, with the exception of the first aspect, i.e. Ptolemy as Pharaoh, and even if the epigraphic evidence suggests that the Egyptian priesthood participated in all of these forms of royal cult, all the above classifications are essentially and primarily Greek in concept.[31] However, in terms of both religious meaning and social structures, it is useful here to emphasise two distinctions made by scholars.

First, one should bear in mind the differentiation between Egyptian and Greek traditions in Egypt. The Ptolemies managed to provide a context for worship of the ruler in purely native Egyptian contexts and in forms that were meaningful and acceptable to them. Therefore, royal cult and royal statues are much better known from Egyptian temples, where the kings were presented to the native people as traditional Pharaohs.[32] Actually, the archaeological evidence for official promotion of the dynastic cult is much greater in Egyptian temples than in Greek sanctuaries, largely because of the native tradition of decorating temple walls with representation of rulers and deities.[33] Apart from the extensive remains of actual temples and hard-stone statues in the Egyptian manner,[34] there is excellent documentary information from three decrees of the assembled Egyptian priesthood in honour of the reigning king: the Canopus Decree, the Pithom Stele II, and the famous Rosetta Stone.[35] Finally, the Ptolemaic faience wine jugs with portraits of the queens holding a *cornucopia* and a libation bowl (ch. 3.2.3), should be mentioned in this context, as they do not simply serve as evidence of the royal cult, but also illustrate the very functioning of the cult itself.[36]

Secondly, one should also be able to understand the proposed difference between dynastic and ruler cult.[37] Expanding on Ashton's identifications, which focus on Egypt,[38] the dynastic and ruler cult could be defined as

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[31] Ashton 2001, 16.

[32] e.g. Smith 1988, pl. 47, fig. 1.

[33] Ashton 2001, 18.

[34] For important contributions regarding the interaction between Greek and 'Pharaonic' statues and their functions, format and material see Smith 1988, 86–88; Ashton 2001; Stanwick 2002, especially 47–49.

[35] Smith 1988, 24.

[36] Thompson 1973. As works of art these faience vases, however, show an interesting fusion of Greek and Egyptian stylistic traditions. According to Pollitt (1988, 273), this is "not surprising since the idea of making faience offering vessels as well as many of the aspects of the cult which they served were Egyptian, while the recipients and promoters of the cult were of course, Macedonian".

[37] Walbank 1984, 87–99; Shipley 2000, 157.

[38] Ashton 2001, 17.

follows: while the former was controlled by the state and was promoted throughout the Ptolemaic ‘sphere of interest’, the latter was not necessarily controlled by a central body and could be individual. We should also make the distinction between the more widely attested introduction of the worship of a living king or queen by a city, and the establishment of a royal cult by the royal administration.[39] While the dynastic cult was a phenomenon restricted only to the areas directly under the Ptolemaic crown (mainly Egypt), the ruler cult, for the most part, was a matter of individual initiative.[40] Nonetheless, the conventional distinction between religion and politics makes it impossible to understand the dynamics of the royal cults.[41]

Based on these considerations, Smith had already regarded the royal cults as falling into two distinct kinds; the official or centrally organised dynastic cults set up by kings themselves, as already discussed, and the civic cults, set up by individual cities on their own initiative.[42] There is little evidence about the more ‘hellenised’ aspects of the official cults and their scale of operation or importance compared to the fully attested civic cults.[43] There is epigraphic evidence for a centrally controlled priesthood in Alexandria.[44] There is also textual evidence (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 5.197–202; quoting the writings of the Hellenistic scholar Callixenus of Rhodes) about a festival pavilion built by Ptolemy II *Philadelphus* and of a parade that was part of the same festival related to the celebration of the early royal cult.[45]

Once the Ptolemaic cult was fully developed it was quickly adopted with local variations elsewhere in the Hellenistic world to confirm the legitimacy of the ruling line and to provide a symbolic way of expressing loyalty and allegiance to it. Through those officially established royal cults, the king could define and mediate his power to his subjects in ways other than simply military and bureaucratic.[46] The existence of temples and shrines dedicated to the Ptolemies is attested in literary references and inscriptions, even from Cyprus, as already noted (ch. 2.4.2), but the archaeological evidence is very scarce. The Ptolemies were also worshiped as *synnaoi theoi* (temple-sharing

39 Shipley 2000, 157–158; Chaniotis 2003, 436.
40 Dunand 1983, 80–81; Samuel 1993, 182–183.
41 cf. Price 1984, 18–19.
42 Smith 1988, 19.
43 Smith 1988, 23.
44 Fraser 1972, 213–228.
45 Rice 1983; Pollitt 1986, 280–281.
46 Smith 1988, 23.

gods), as established in the Soloi and Amathous sections. As explained in the previous chapter, this practice should be regarded as a strategy of incorporating ruler cult within the framework of traditional local cults in areas where the subjection to a deified authority was external to the traditional structures of the cities. The methodology of Price on the cults of the Roman emperor in Asia Minor should be regarded as instrumental when we want to investigate local responses to the Hellenistic ruler cult.[47] In his interpretation, the cities established ruler cults as an attempt to come to terms with a new type of imperial power and accommodate the new kings.[48]

The most notable way of expressing either royal power, or allegiance to it, was the erection of royal statues.[49] Royal statues could be placed in sanctuaries or in public buildings, like the council house or the gymnasium. Before proceeding to the actual Cypriot heads, it is necessary to look briefly at the historical background to portraiture studies and discuss the main characteristics, context and attributes of Hellenistic royal sculpture.

4.3. 'Portraiture' and Hellenistic Royal Sculptures

Smith, in his introduction, clearly states that "the study of the portraiture of this period has long been hindered by an ill-founded confidence in our ability precisely to date and identify surviving portraits, and by a lack of concern for the interpretation".[50] From a modern western perspective, with the mechanical means of photography at disposal, one could easily think that portraiture automatically assumes actual likeness, and therefore the first aim of portraiture seems to be identification.[51] Features of modernist thought and doctrines of western tradition in the conception of royal style should be considered.[52] In addition, before one turns to the Hellenistic royal sculptures themselves, the history of portraiture needs to be briefly studied. Considerations on how ultimately a 'portrait' could be defined in an ancient context should also be established.

Neither ancient Greek nor Latin had a precise equivalent for the term 'portrait', which is widely used in modern languages; the most equivalent

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[47] Price 1984.
[48] Price 1984, 29–30.
[49] Smith 1988, 15–31.
[50] Smith 1988, 1.
[51] Frel 1981, 2; Ridgway 2001, 109.
[52] Conkey 1990, 7.

Greek word *eikon* and the Latin *imago*, are better translated as image, a term linked to a mental process much used in the interpretation of portraiture, imagination.[53] What, then, should a modern viewer expect of ancient portraits? Even if accuracy in recording physical features may seem the most pressing demand of a portrait nowadays, true representation can hardly be confirmed in ancient portraiture.[54]

Sculptural representations of individual rulers appeared in the Mediterranean and Near East long before the generation of monumental Greek sculpture, but as their main aim was a guarantee of the subjects' survival for eternity according to the feeling expressed in many inscriptions, they had no real interest in the individual or his actual likeness.[55] This is further justified by the existence of possible usurpers who might change the features or even replace the original owner's name with another. Those sculptures, therefore, could hardly be called 'portraits' in the sense that the word will be used here.

It is sometimes asserted that portraiture began in the Hellenistic period, but both literary accounts and plausibly identified Roman copies, show that this is not strictly true.[56] The discussion of the chronological development of portraiture would be beyond the scope of this monograph. It needs to be said, however, that the gradual evolution from a generalised to an individual likeness originated in Greece; the concept was born there during the fifth century BC and then went through several phases of evolution, always in the direction of realism.[57] The portrait needs to be more than a faithful reproduction of the exterior appearance; it needs to penetrate into the psychology of the model and sum up his personality, interior life, thoughts and emotions, in the frame of social context.[58] Naturalistic portraiture was in fact clearly felt by Greek sculptors of the Archaic and Classical periods alike to be foreign to the character of their art, and portraiture consisted

53 Walker 1995, 16.

54 Walker 1995, 18. Even modern photography can be deceptive in this respect. For instance, most celebrities in their pictures are made-up and they usually present a different image about their size in height and weight. For Karouzos (1981, 177) the photographic image is also deceptive, for only the face of the dead person is always the same ... never that of the living.

55 Frel 1981, 2; Richter 1984, 35.

56 Burn 1991, 129. For a general study on the Hellenistic portrait and its development see Buschor 1995.

57 Robertson 1981, 183–185.

58 Frel 1981, 2; Karouzos 1981, 176; Richter 1984, 13. For a chronological development of the Greek portrait see Richter 1984, 34–57.

mainly of generalised likeness and idealistic conception.[59] Some of these sculptures, however, do indeed convey character, and many more a sense of individuality.

Greek statues of humans had already been used to convey political messages, but the conquests of Alexander and the establishment of the royal cult produced demands for a new type of portraiture. Alexander's image had a considerable influence over Hellenistic royal portraiture and he is said to have controlled a form of his portrait by personally appointing the artists he considered most appropriate for depicting his character. This image was created from a combination of the king's real appearance and various elements of the ideal visual language of late Classical gods and heroes, including youthfulness and clean-shaven features.[60] As Alexander's image continued to be produced by the *Diadochoi* it seems that it influenced later royal portraits and ideal iconography, but it was also itself affected by later royal portraits.[61]

In contrast to Roman imperial portraits there are many difficulties in the dating and identifying of Hellenistic royal portraits, because of their problematic typology and their disappointing survival rate:[62] While there are over 250 surviving statues for the Roman emperor Augustus and at least 100 for each emperor of the second century AD, there are only about 120 for all the Hellenistic kings, including all the dynasties, from Alexander to Augustus. In the Hellenistic period, most royal sculptures were made of bronze, and therefore melted down when they were no longer in active use. Additionally, as Walker observes, unlike Greek writers and philosophers, Hellenistic kings were with few exceptions not popular subjects for the Roman copyist.[63] Identifications based on coin comparison, as discussed below, prove to be very problematic when it comes to Hellenistic royal sculptures.[64]

The Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt together with Cyrene has yielded the largest body of surviving Hellenistic royal portraits, providing therefore the best evidence for an analysis of the royal image of a single dynasty.[65] A general background on the function of statues, their materials, types

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[59] Robertson 1975, 504; Richter 1984, 37–45.
[60] Smith 1988, 59, 111–112.
[61] Smith 1988, 59.
[62] Walker 1995, 56; cf. Price 1984, 172–173.
[63] Walker 1995, 56.
[64] Frel 1981, 34; Ridgway 2001, 7.
[65] Smith 1988, 57, 86–98; Stanwick 2002.

and attributes would be desirable at this stage, so that any comparisons and interpretations of the Cypriot sculptures can be meaningful and legitimate. Those issues have been analysed in detail by Smith. It should therefore be acknowledged that the following discussion is totally based on his work.

We can divide royal statues into two broad categories, i.e. honorific and cultic. Various materials available for other statuary, most commonly bronze and less often marble could be used for their production.[66] When it comes to honorific statues, the material is nearly always bronze. This statement is justified by epigraphic evidence where, when the material is mentioned, the usual specification used is *eikon chalke*. Royal cult-statues were naturally far less numerous and their material is not often stated in inscriptions. It can be marble or bronze, but marble may have been the most usual. Nonetheless, as there is no clear distinction between votive and cult image,[67] it should be noted that there is also no clear distinction between honorific and cult image.

Honorific portraits of the kings were set up in privileged public places, such as a gymnasium or a sanctuary, by decree of council and people. Honorific statues would have usually been life-size standing figures in bronze, placed on a marble or limestone pedestal.[68] Their significance and symbolism were above all socio-political, resembling the relationship between the city/individual and the king. Considering the expenses of dedicating a statue, this would be one of the highest reciprocating and most prestigious honours that a city, a group or an individual could offer.[69] Hellenistic monarchies created new and greater power networks. As is confirmed by the inscriptions, the cities were more or less dependent on those power relations, and this is clearly reflected in the upsurge of honorific statues, not only of the kings, but also of their friends and relatives, and of wealthy individuals in the cities to whom new circumstances had given new opportunities for power and influence.[70]

One of the most important manifestations of the royal cult was the cult statue.[71] Royal cult statues could be placed in their own temenos, in a public building, or very rarely as Smith argues, in the temple of another god, if one

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[66] Smith 1988, 15.
[67] Mylonopoulos 2010.
[68] Smith 1988, 18.
[69] Smith 1988, 16.
[70] Smith 1988, 17; cf. Shipley 2000, 77–86.
[71] Smith 1988, 19.

deals with the *synnaoi theoi* situation, as also indicated in previous chapters; consequently, statues of kings could be made to evoke godlike qualities, therefore bridging the gap between the gods and mortal kings in making ruler cult 'credible'.[72] It can easily be deduced that the significance of cult statues even in a religious context was above all socio-political, instead of purely religious.

As discussed above, ancient portraiture, even in the Hellenistic period, was not concerned with individuality as one would understand it nowadays. The main concern of Hellenistic royal portraiture was to express mainly royal and usually divine appearance, with a "variable combination of reality and royal image".[73] As further analysed below, this might be due to technical quality and/or lack of a defined portrait model, but also to the lack of an interest in expressing the king's individuality. Therefore, this would be the appropriate moment to briefly discuss the main royal characteristics, insignia and divine attributes.

In contrast to the Roman imperial statues, where the heads are self-sufficient as portrait images, in Hellenistic portraiture "the head was conceived as an integral part of the whole figure".[74] Without their statue-bodies, many generalised and idealised Hellenistic royal heads appear 'blank', as they "lose much of their significance and expression".[75] Even if very few royal statues as a whole survived, they can usually be reconstructed in broad outline from many other sources, particularly literary evidence, surviving statuettes, coins and gems.

Smith has argued convincingly that the standing naked male figure, sometimes wearing a *chlamys*, was probably the 'norm' for royal statues.[76] They were usually holding a sword evoking military significance, and leaning on or holding a spear or sceptre. In keeping with the notions of more subtle expressions of power and ideology adopted and underlined in this monograph, it is interesting to note that there is no evidence for armoured royal statues in civic contexts outside the core of the kingdoms. A possible explanation is that the king's military power was potentially embarrassing, and this phenomenon might show a reluctance to import into the city royal images which emphasised that source of power,[77] at least where this was not

72 Smith 1988, 19.
73 Smith 1988, 32.
74 Smith 1988, 32.
75 Smith 1988, 32.
76 Smith 1988, 32–34; e.g. Terme Ruler: Smith 1988, pl. 32, fig. 2.
77 Smith 1988, 34.

deemed necessary. Nakedness, in combination with other attributes, could contribute to a 'distancing effect' and offer the impression of the classic 'god-like' or 'above-human' status.[78]

The sceptre, already royal in Homer but also an attribute of Zeus, the use of a purple *chlamys* extended to the shoulders and chest, and diadem have been seen as the three main symbols of royalty.[79] The diadem, a band of white cloth worn about the head, was "the main exclusive symbol of Hellenistic kingship".[80] It will therefore be discussed in further detail here. Modern perception and equivocation between its ancient value and its generic meaning has caused some confusion. Based on royal coin portraits, one can understand what the royal diadem looked like (figs 76, 80): a flat band tied in a reef knot behind, with the ends left free-hanging. Variation in the width and in the shape of the ends exists. There are many difficulties in the interpretation of the origin and the meaning of the Hellenistic royal diadem, which however lie beyond the main scope of this study. It only needs to be said that it relates, most probably, to Alexander and that at the beginning, according to Smith its significance was only 'extrinsic'. Perhaps, after the death of Alexander, the diadem became important as a royal connotation linking the kings to Alexander. In a Greek context, it was probably associated with Dionysus, who was directly related to the Hellenistic royal ideology, and his victories.[81]

Divine associations, to evoke relationships and powers beyond the simply royal, were added to the sculptures by a number of divine attributes which were periodically developed.[82] As the kings were not really equated with gods, one should be careful in inserting them into 'ready-made' divine iconographies. As Smith argues, the kings borrow selectively, adapt and innovate; the interpretation of the meaning of these attributes therefore is not clear and one needs to ask not merely if the king is represented as a god, but what godlike powers are indicated through the known vocabulary of the divine equipment.[83] These problems have been approached in our previous discussion on the image of Ptolemaic queens at Soloi, for instance.

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78 Smith 1988, 33; cf. Charbonneaux 1973, 300.
79 Smith 1988, 34.
80 Smith 1988, 34.
81 For a discussion on royal and non-royal diadems, and for a detailed analysis of the origin and meaning of the diadem see Smith 1988, 34–38.
82 Smith 1988, 38–45.
83 Smith 1988, 38, 44–45.

In other words, the divine powers of many gods with which royals are associated are not combined in one person, but rather those divine associations indicate the participation of the king in certain divine powers.[84] In this respect, as has already been established in the previous chapters, one should be very careful in using terms like 'assimilation' or 'identification'. Some of the divine attributes that the Ptolemies commonly used are the eagle (related to Zeus), aegis (related to Zeus) and rays (related to Helios), and more rarely bull's horns (related to Dionysus), goat's horns (related to Pan), lion scalp (related to Heracles) or elephant scalp (related to Dionysus). Ptolemaic queens make very little use of Greek divinising attributes. They usually wear only the diadem or a *stephane* (crown), usually with the back of the head veiled, and sometimes carry a sceptre. As mentioned in the Soloi section, queens influenced by Egyptian ideas and iconography usually wear divine attributes of Isis.

The aforementioned royal-divine attributes could be used in addition, but on the majority of royal portraits the diadem and the royal-divine style of image, which was something fundamentally new in Greek portraiture, were sufficient.[85] The typical Hellenistic royal portrait would present the king as a youthful, beardless, dynamic man; while a recognisable individuality can exist, this might be sacrificed to various levels for the presentation of an 'idealised' appearance, influenced by the iconography of Alexander, which was earlier influenced by the image of various gods and heroes.[86] Youthfulness was primarily expressed by beardlessness,[87] which was something new, followed with a few exceptions by all the Hellenistic kings and later, by the Roman emperors.[88]

All these external characteristics, along with the usual ethical, military, domestic, dynastic and divinising virtues usually attributed to the royals, as is attested from various epithets on the inscribed statue bases and their titles, complete the Hellenistic royal image and serve as additional important aspects of the royal ideology. In this sense, royal portraits produce an image of the king setting him "above mortals but somewhat apart from the gods".[89]

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84 Fleischer 1996, 38.
85 Smith 1988, 46.
86 Smith 1988, 46.
87 Ridgway 2001, 114.
88 Walker 1995, 84–93.
89 Smith 1988, 48.

4.4. Hellenistic 'Portraits' in a Cypriot Context

The cult of the Ptolemies has been seen as instrumental in influencing radical changes of form in the local Cypriot tradition.[90] In Cyprus, an area with strong 'hellenised' elements long before the arrival of the *Diadochoi*, and subsequently of the Ptolemies, one would not expect the Ptolemaic kings to promote themselves as Pharaohs. Therefore, Egyptian-style Hellenistic heads are completely missing from the island. The number of heads with portrait-like features is confined in comparison with other forms of Hellenistic Cypriot sculpture.[91] However their number is still quite considerable. Portrait-like sculptures, mainly in local limestone, have survived from various Cypriot sites, usually sanctuaries when the context is known. Many of those heads have been interpreted as royal (Appendix 2: table 2). The fact that sculpture presenting the Ptolemies themselves and their attendants was present on the island can be attested by numerous inscribed bases found throughout the Cypriot archaeological landscape (Appendix 2: table 1). None of them, however, can be associated with a statue. The facial conventions and coiffures of the Ptolemaic kings and queens also became very popular in Cyprus, and one should therefore be careful in identifying as a portrait every head that shows 'Ptolemaic traits'.[92] As analysed below, when it comes to Cypriot limestone sculptures, not only the royal image, but also the very existence of portrait-style itself, has been questioned.

During the Hellenistic period, the repertory of votary types on the island included the representation of people at various ages. Young boys have usually been associated with kings at young age (Appendix 2: table 2). However, the focus here will be on individualised Hellenistic male and female adult votaries. Even if these sculptures consist primarily of heads, the few surviving examples of complete statues allow an approximate definition of the figures' characteristics: their range in height varies from about one-third to just over-lifesize, following the formulaic pose—strictly frontal, standing figures with flat, unfinished backs and usually an offering in the hand—established during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods.[93]

The absolute chronological sequence will receive limited attention, not only because is of less interest to the present study, but primarily because

90 Walker 1995, 58.
91 Connelly 1988, 1.
92 Ridgway 2001, 131.
93 Connelly 1988, 4.

Hellenistic sculpture in general,[94] and specifically in Cyprus as various scholars explain,[95] is a very problematic area of study. The mixing of material from many different periods, and the unscientific manner of the early excavations in Cyprus, make stratigraphic analysis impossible. In addition, even in more recent systematic excavations, most Hellenistic sculptures have derived from votive deposits that include material from a wide chronological range.[96] As far as it can be ascertained, no votive statue has been found standing on its inscribed base, and during the early excavations no attempt was made to associate inscribed bases with statues fallen close by; inscriptions therefore are again of minor help.[97] As Senff argues, based on stylistic analysis, in many cases one cannot even determine with certainty if a head dates from the fourth century BC or the first century AD.[98] Stylistic dating and analysis related to coiffure, sideburns, jewellery, clothing and shoes can be used only as a general indicator of date and often it is dangerous when one uses this evidence for further interpretation of the portraits.

4.4.1. *History of Scholarship*

The history of scholarship related to the Cypriot 'portraits' has been thoroughly treated by Connelly.[99] I will briefly and selectively present here only the evidence that periodically has been discussed in relation to Hellenistic royal portraiture. As seen in the previous chapters, a significant problem in the identification of Cypriot sculpture is in distinguishing deity from worshipper, god from king or priest, goddess from queen or priestess, and royals from non-royals.

The first royal identification was made by Myres. In his handbook of the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, he describes a colossal male head wearing a wreath as "perhaps intended for Alexander".[100] Pryce, however, using Ptolemaic coin types, was the most confident in identifying Hellenistic Cypriot heads with specific kings and queens.[101] As Connelly notes, Pryce was 'audacious' enough to identify fifty heads with specific

94 Ridgway 2001, 3–12.

95 Vermeule 1976, 45; Connelly 1988, 7–10. For a recent re-examination and critique of Connelly's chronologies see Tatton-Brown 2007; Erath-Koiner 2007.

96 e.g. the Potamia deposit published by Karageorghis (1979).

97 Connelly 1988, 7.

98 Senff 1989, 188.

99 Connelly 1988, 10–13.

100 Myres 1914, 211, no. 1318.

101 Pryce 1931, 68–124.

portrait types, amongst other Alexander the Great, Demetrius *Poliorcetes*, the first five Ptolemies, Berenice I and Berenice II, and Arsinoe II.[102] Westholm, in his publication about the Temples of Soloi, however, was the first to critique Pryce's methodology: "Mr. Pryce seems never to doubt the possibility of identifying even the poorest specimens of Cypriot sculpture, and his peculiar knowledge makes the reader think that the author was a friend of all the members of the Ptolemaic dynasty".[103]

Westholm offers another identification of Alexander (fig. 19). Nevertheless, his comparisons with Ptolemaic portraiture were very cautious and his main contribution to the subject lies in noting that many of the portraits in European museums, supposed to be identified with royals of the antiquity, "may be nothing but portraits of men and women sculpted in the style which was created at the court".[104] In addition, Westholm regarded an outstanding female sculpture from Arsos as 'most likely a portrait', based on its unique position among the Cypriot sculpture in terms of style and technique (fig. 81). However, he went further, and suggested, unjustifiably, that "the features of the face make one think of a character like Axiothea, the queen of Nikokreon of Salamis".[105] Finally, he suggested that three more male heads found in the Arsos sanctuary could be Ptolemaic portraits.[106] He, then however, restated his previous argument, that it is difficult to determine whether any more heads from Arsos represent real portraits, or if they just represent a mere type of face or head, characteristic of the period.[107]

Vessberg, re-addressed the problem of portraiture in Cyprus, putting it in the wider context of Cypriot sculpture found all over the island. He regarded the female head from Arsos to be "quite certainly a portrait".[108] Even if he regarded coin types as a useful methodological tool in studying portraits, he agreed with Westholm regarding the uncritical and categorical manner for pure determinations of persons made by Pryce.[109] He, therefore, compared a one-third life-size statue from Mersinaki with the facial type seen on coins types of *Euergetes*, *Philopator* and *Epiphanes* (middle of the third–early second centuries BC), but he did not attempt any identifications.

102 Connelly 1988, 10–11.
103 Westholm 1936, 190, note 21.
104 Westholm 1936, 190, note 21.
105 *SCE* 3: 591, pl. CXCV.
106 *SCE* 3: 592, pl. CXCVII, 1–4.
107 *SCE* 3: 592.
108 *SCE* 4(3): 85–86.
109 *SCE* 4(3): 91.

Vessberg, however, agreed with Pryce on the identification of a portrait of Demetrius *Poliorcetes*.[110] Nonetheless, another head identified by Pryce as Demetrius *Poliorcetes* again, was instead seen by Vessberg as resembling the coin types of Ptolemy III *Euergetes*.[111] In addition, what is of relevance to the present study is the identification of a Caligula portrait.[112] The same sculpture was earlier identified by Dikaios as a probable third or second century BC 'Ptolemaic dignitary of high rank'.[113]

Dikaios, in the third edition of the guide to the Cyprus Museum, finally changed his mind to agree with Vessberg regarding the Caligula sculpture.[114] However, he further associated a number of limestone heads with royal portraits: a filleted head from Arsos probably with some Ptolemaic king[115] and a wreathed head from Voni with Ptolemy II *Philadelphus*.[116]

Vermeule offered two additional identifications from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A limestone head was identified with Berenice II, according to "her unmistakable features on coins".[117] Also, a limestone head was associated probably with Ptolemy III *Euergetes* on stylistic grounds.[118] The same identifications were re-confirmed by Comstock and Vermeule,[119] who also associated another head with the same king,[120] while others were associated with an idealised Ptolemaic king or idealised rulers.[121]

Up to Connelly's publication on Cypriot Hellenistic portrait-like sculptures, the habit of identifying heads with specific individuals continued to be practiced uncritically. For instance, Lo Porto and Decaudin, following Comstock and Vermule, offered some more possible identifications of Ptolemy III *Euergetes* and other Ptolemaic idealised rulers.[122] Vollenweider, based on completely misleading evidence, has also identified a votary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as Ptolemy III.[123] Karageorghis, in

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110 *SCE* 4(3): 91.
111 *SCE* 4(3): 91.
112 *SCE* 4(3): 99.
113 Dikaios 1953, 88, pl. XXIII, 1.
114 Dikaios 1961, 104, pl. XXIII, 1.
115 Dikaios 1961, 104–105, pl. XXI, 4.
116 Dikaios 1961, 105.
117 Vermeule 1976, 55, fig. 20.
118 Vermeule 1976, 55–56, fig. 21.
119 Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 279, 281, nos 450, 454.
120 Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 280, no. 451.
121 Comstock and Vermeule 1977, 280–281, nos 452–453.
122 Lo Porto 1986, 205, nos 437–438, pl. 54; Decaudin 1987, 152–153, pl. LIX.
123 Cited with critique in Connelly 1988, 12, pl. 2, fig. 6. Senff (1989, 189) argues that a closer look at this statue shows that the head and the body did not originally belong together.

his publication of the material from a sanctuary at Potamia in the vicinity of Idalion, where, among other limestone sculptures dating from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic period, a number of Hellenistic limestone 'portraits' have been found, is cautious: "it is not easy to say with certainty whether these are votive heads of specific Ptolemaic rulers, just votaries of a general nature, priests or private citizens in the Ptolemaic mould".[124]

The decisive step in Hellenistic Cypriot portraiture was taken by Connelly, who analysed 66 well-carved limestone high-quality adult heads, which best reflect the influence of portraiture. The majority of those heads come from four areas in the Mesaoria plain where one or more sanctuaries existed:[125] Arsos, Voni, Idalion and Golgoi. In her introduction, Connelly is concerned with issues of typology, workshops and hands, and chronology. Then she presents the material according to the area in which individual pieces were found and tries to place the Hellenistic sculptures next to the earlier sculptural tradition, by adding a summary of the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical sculptures found in each site. After a close examination of the sculptures and the appearance of their features she attempts a distribution of stylistic and technical formulae, types and workshops, as well as a proposition of a chronological relative sequence. Nonetheless, what are of most interest to the present study are her conclusions related directly to the portraiture: "although the Hellenistic votaries of Cyprus appear to be individualized, they are, in fact, generic".[126] In the same year Smith published his major general work on Hellenistic royal portraits. He includes an appendix specifically for Cyprus and his conclusions about Cypriot limestone sculptures are in line with Connelly's argument: even if they reflect royal style, they represent portrait-like votaries of the native Cypriot society accommodating to the prevailing 'Greek culture' and to the ruling Ptolemaic power.[127]

Since the publication of Smith's, and particularly of Connelly's works, scholars working with Cypriot sculptures, usually on Museum catalogues, have been particularly careful in associating limestone heads with royal portraits.[128] Associations with specific royals have still, very rarely and cautiously though, been attempted. For instance, Nielsen in the volume for

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124 Karageorghis 1979, 311.

125 As explained in chapters 1 and 2 the finds from early archaeological explorations are usually wrapped in uncertainty as to findspot, original condition and, in some cases, even the authenticity of their provenance.

126 Connelly 1988, 111.

127 Smith 1988, Appendix VI.

128 e.g. Karageorghis 2002b, 201, no. 262.

Ancient Cypriot Art in Copenhagen leaves open the possibility that two limestone heads wearing a wreath represent Demetrius *Poliorcetes*.[129] Only when it comes to the rare phenomenon of the limestone statue identified with Alexander and the surviving marble 'queens' from Soloi-Cholades there is still a tendency to associate Cypriot heads with royals.

In what follows, I will try to approach the problem of Cypriot 'portraiture' and raw materials as well as of Cypriot 'portraiture' and religious/sacred importance, bringing together the theory and methods proposed by Connelly and Smith with recent theoretical developments on social power and the archaeology of religion. I will approach the issue from two different angles, firstly typologically and secondly contextually.

4.4.2. *A Typological-Stylistic Approach*

The Ptolemaic royal image was definitely present in Cyprus, as is attested mainly from the coinage, but also from seal impressions on clay,[130] for instance. The review of the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures that have been associated with specific kings and queens has clearly shown the 'ill-founded confidence' of the past generations of archaeologists to date precisely and identify surviving portraits, as well as the lack of concern regarding their interpretation. As already observed in chapters 1 and 2, archaeology has usually used style as a mirror of the past actually detaching these stylistic types from their own social context; in this respect, style in archaeology has usually been used in a way that detaches cultural materials from their original messages and functions.[131] When it comes to 'portraiture', this typological-stylistic methodology has primarily been based on a comparison between coin identification and stylistic dating. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge both the advantages and disadvantages of coin identification and stylistic dating to the study of Hellenistic royal portraiture, specifically in a Cypriot context.

Coin identification should theoretically be very fruitful and has worked for specific Hellenistic royal heads found outside Cyprus.[132] This has usually led to the assumption that all royal portraits can be securely identified if the coin and sculpture profiles are compared with sufficient acuity. As Smith argues in detail, however, this method does not usually work,[133] not only

129 Nielsen 2001, 130–131, nos 38–39.
130 Nicolaou, K. 1972, 315; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1979.
131 Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 1–2.
132 Smith 1988, 3.
133 Smith 1988, 3–4.

in a non-Cypriot context, but especially in a Cypriot context, where no royal insignia or attributes have survived. As he explains, when comparing similar coin and sculpture profiles we can suggest "a *possible* identification, but no amount of physiognomical argument can make it *probable*, still less certain".[134] In addition, the classicising elements in the works of sculptural art and the inbreeding of the sitters make this process even more difficult.[135] While coin identification works well for the Roman period, gaps in the Hellenistic coinage series and the sculptural evidence, combined with the fact that many of the surviving portraits are so generalised and usually not based on defined portrait models, make coin identification, generally, and especially in Cyprus, a fruitless pursuit.

Stylistic dating, borrowed from studies of general Greek sculpture to provide relative chronologies for undocumented works of art, provides only a hypothetical model which is not obviously or necessarily correct.[136] As Hellenistic ruler portraits are relatively few and vary widely in size, function and quality, any dating which is based on external grounds is very problematic. In Cyprus, as probably elsewhere, stylistic analysis can be problematic for another reason. As votaries continue typological and stylistic traditions that remained unchanged from the third century BC into the first century AD, most of the sculptures cannot be closely dated.[137] What may be Hellenistic in date may well be Cypro-Classical in spirit, and respectively, what may be technically Roman, may look Hellenistic.

As coins are made in a very different medium, technique, dimension and size than sculpture, the comparison between coins and portraits based on detail and style is very problematic.[138] However, Smith proposes a much more flexible approach to the comparison between coins and styles, by using the former as evidence for the changing ways kings chose to present themselves to their subjects.[139] Coinage could be seen as the most common medium for the diffusion of the royal image. The Ptolemies, however, kept the dynasty-founder's Ptolemy I portrait on the coinage, with occasional portrait issues of later kings. Therefore, more problems are created.[140]

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134 Smith 1988, 3.
135 Robertson 1975, 523.
136 Smith 1988, 4–5.
137 Connelly 1988, 8.
138 Ridgway 2001, 112.
139 Smith 1988, 5.
140 In the case of Cyprus, the coinage portrait features known so far are even more limited. A preliminary survey of the Cypriot coins shows that there are only coin portrait types of

Additionally, it has been argued that images of the kings on coins would have been primarily designed to impress the Graeco-Macedonian soldiery.[141] This is a very different context and function from the majority of the sculptured portraits, as has been examined above. Following Smith's argument, therefore, a lack of strict correlation between coins and sculptures might be less surprising.

In Cyprus, with the exception of a unique Hellenistic statue from Voni holding an eagle, which should however be regarded as a divinity,[142] there is not a single surviving sculptural piece that has preserved any safe attributes, or at least any royal insignia. With a few exceptions,[143] the majority of the Hellenistic Cypriot heads with portrait-like features are youthful and beardless, according to the model of the Hellenistic royal image. However, even if in most cases one cannot associate the body with the head, in cases where the statue is preserved as a whole it is far from the standard model of the Hellenistic king's naked body (figs 79, 87). Cypriot statues, with portrait-like features, are clothed. Nonetheless, it has to be said that there are a few Hellenistic examples of statuettes (one-third to life-sized statues or smaller), such as those attested in the Soloi-Cholades and Lefkoniko sanctuaries,[144] where the body is naked wearing a cloak over the shoulder. These, however, could represent divine images. As we do not have any attributes and the head is not preserved, however, any further discussion on those statues would be fruitless. Finally, the most important royal symbol, the diadem, is definitely missing from the majority of the Cypriot portrait-like limestone heads.

As the headband has been deemed to be the most important symbol of Hellenistic kingship, a further elaboration on this feature, in a Cypriot context, should be attempted. The majority of the Cypriot limestone heads wear a wreath instead of a diadem (e.g. figs 79, 87). This is a local tradition going back to the Cypro-Archaic period. The majority of the Hellenistic

Alexander and Ptolemy I, Ptolemy III, Arsinoe II, Arsinoe III, Cleopatra I and Cleopatra VII: see Nicolaou, Mørkholm and Nicolaou 1976; Nicolaou 1990; Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 1991, 30–40; Zapiti and Michaelidou 2007, 119–137.

141 Smith 1988, 14.

142 According to Vessberg, the statue "should no doubt be interpreted as that of a god, a combination of Apollon and Zeus. The youthful type is that of Apollon, the lustral spray indicating his character of purification god. The eagle, however, belongs to Zeus, the scroll perhaps to Apollon in his capacity as god of manticism and of poetry": *SCE* 4(3): 86.

143 i.e. Pryce 1931, 71, C 176; Connelly 1988, pl. 32, fig. 116.

144 Soloi: Westholm 1936, pl. X, fig. 2, no. 507 and pl. XII, figs 2–3, no. 340; Lefkoniko: Myres 1940–1945, 67, no. 549, pl. 21.

heads under examination wear the *pikrodaphne* (laurel) wreath.[145] Wreaths, both in a Cypriot and a Greek context, were widely used not only for the depiction of mortals, but also for the gods. As their power of evocation was according to Smith too diluted, wreaths offered kings little scope for specifically royal adaptation.[146] It has to be said, however, that on a few rare examples, some Ptolemaic kings seem to have worn the wreath, but in combination with the diadem or other royal insignia.[147] Additionally, it should be mentioned that in an Egyptian context the diadem is much more prevalent on statues of queens, made in local style, than on those of kings.[148] Only four adult male heads (fig. 74),[149] as far as I can ascertain, and many female heads (figs 81, 84),[150] wear a band of cloth on the hair (a *taenia*), but as the reef knot and free-hanging ends which are difficult to execute are either omitted or hidden by the veil (in the case of female 'portraiture'), we cannot consider this to be royal diadems.[151] In addition, if one accepts Connelly's chronology, from the second half of the second century BC towards the end of the first century BC, headbands are rarely used in male 'portraiture' and are usually abandoned altogether, both in male and female 'portraiture' (figs 88–89).[152] A headband, however, might sometimes have been added separately to the heads. A brief closer comparison of a sample of male and female Cypriot heads, carved both in marble (when available) and limestone, with some commonly accepted Ptolemaic royal forms found outside Cyprus, and coinage would be useful in this typological approach.

A limestone head from Golgoi has been seen to be "inspired by the full-faced portraiture of the first three Ptolemies, with bulging eyes, fat cheeks and close-cropped, curly hair" (fig. 75).[153] The characteristics of the first three

145 Connelly 1988, 4; Donkow 2004, 33–34. For a study on the wreaths worn by the Cypriot votaries see Cassimatis 1982.

146 Smith 1988, 43.

147 Smith 1988, 43.

148 Stanwick 2002, 35.

149 Nicosia 1983/XI-5/1 (no provenance); Nicosia E 501 (Arsos); Limassol 152 (perhaps Kourion); Episkopi Museum St 966 (Kourion): I owe this information to G. Erath-Koiner (personal communication, October 2010). There are a few other Hellenistic heads wearing a kind of diadem but these have been considered to belong to boys: cf. Hermary 1989a, 244–259; Karageorghis and Vanchugov 2001, 88, no. 165.

150 i.e. Connelly 1988, pls 12–14, figs 42–47, 51.

151 Ridgway 2001, 112.

152 Connelly 1988, 114; i.e. Connelly 1988, pls 15–17, 28, 43, figs 56–59, 62–65, 106–109, 159–160.

153 Connelly 1988, 85.

Ptolemies can be ascertained by a fine series of coin portrait types. However, the iconography of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III is very problematic. While the coin portraits of Ptolemy II are unsatisfactory in number, the large variety of coin portraits of Ptolemy III produce such a heterogeneous iconography of the king's image that it can only fail to convince; these factors, in combination with the condition and the idealised features of the sculptures cannot allow a clear identification of the sculptures that might relate to those two kings.[154] On the other hand, the coin-portrait type of Ptolemy I "embodies a bold solution to the conflicting demands of portraying the real and the ideal king":[155] While it is strikingly individualised, giving great prominence to the facial features and especially to the large chin, the portrait remains realistic, within certain bounds (fig. 76). It combines realistic features, such as the posture, the swelling Heraclean brow, the age and the hair, to express strength, youthfulness, experience and qualities of the saviour king.

Two non-Cypriot marble heads, therefore, one in the Louvre and the other in the Copenhagen Museum, have been commonly accepted as representing Ptolemy I (figs 77–78).[156] Of the two heads, the one in the Louvre, although with some differences in style that cannot all be attributed to the different media of coins and sculpture, is the closer reproduction of the coin portrait type, with a recognisable profile and prominent chin. Even if no identification was proposed, clear similarities with the Louvre head were discerned on the Golgoi head. "Much more than just a mere likeness to Ptolemy, the Golgoi bust fostered a striving attitude to appear prosperous and cultured, which soon spread throughout the local Cypriot aristocracy".[157] In reality, it has to be said that the Cypriot head lacks distinctive physiognomical features, such as the exaggerated chin. It also wears the wreath instead of the royal diadem. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that even the Copenhagen head, which has been regarded as a certain portrait of the king, is not as close to the coin type. Its profile, however, is still related.

The comparison made by Connelly of the facial features of a colossal Cypriot limestone statue found in the Voni sanctuary with Ptolemaic coin portraits adds further to the discussion (fig. 79).[158] Sideburns, which exist on the Voni head, are very distinct features of the coin portraits of Ptolemy IV

154 Smith 1988, 91, Appendix V.
155 Smith 1988, 90.
156 Smith 1988, 90–91, 164, nos 46–47, pl. 34, figs 1–6; cf. Bieber 1981, 85, figs 302–303.
157 Vasileiou 2009, 157.
158 Connelly 1988, 51–52.

and VI. On the other hand, it has to be said that sideburns enjoyed great popularity in late third century BC fashion. Nevertheless, the profile of the Voni figure in comparison with coins of Ptolemy IV shows a general similarity in the rendering of the curls in rows of crescent-shaped and circular locks (fig. 80). The profile of Ptolemy IV shows a more vertical forehead which lies on the same plane as the lips and chin, which is different from the coin types of the earlier Ptolemies. As Connelly argues, the profile of the Voni head is similar, "a straight line can be drawn from the forehead to the chin".[159] In addition, the long upturned nose of Ptolemy V, as depicted on coins, shows some affinity with the nose of the Voni statue. As Connelly concludes, with some degree of caution of course, specific stylistic parallels can be drawn to associate this votary with Ptolemaic forms of the third century BC.

Ptolemaic Egypt is the only Hellenistic kingdom with any quantity of female royal portraits. This might be due to the nature of the available evidence, but also may reflect the greater political and religious importance of Ptolemaic queens as examined in the Soloi section.[160] Separating women from goddesses or queens from private women is not an easy task. Following Smith again, queens can be recognised firstly by royal insignia, secondly by context (e.g. paired with a king), or additionally, by identity or reasonable proximity to a known coin type:[161] as queens usually have a veil over the top and the back of the head, a very common feature in Cypriot Hellenistic sculpture, unambiguous royal diadems are rare. It is also possible that some queens wore neither diadem nor *stephane*. Useful contexts are rare to non-existent in the case of Cyprus. Similarly, secure identifications by coin portraits are rare. Ptolemaic female portraiture, therefore, can usually be recognised by the presence of a combination of diadem and portrait features, which are not always visible on coins.

This is the case, for instance, for the fine limestone head found in the Arsos sanctuary (fig. 81), which has periodically been identified with a number of great women in Cypriot and Ptolemaic history: Axiothea, queen of king Nikokreon of Salamis, Berenice II, Arsinoe II, or even Aphrodite.[162] This head seems to be influenced by the Alexandrian school of art,[163] and represents "something of an enigma, as it stands alone in quality and conception

159 Connelly 1988, 52.
160 Smith 1988, 89; Ashton 2003.
161 Smith 1988, 89.
162 Connelly 1988, 24.
163 Vermeule 1976, 53; Karageorghis 1982, 175.

quite apart from anything that precedes or follows it in the Cypriot repertory".[164] A comparison of the head made by Connelly, in regard to the proportion and the placement of the features, brings it close to Ptolemaic forms, particularly to those of Arsinoe II: the profile view can be compared to those on coins bearing the likeness of the Ptolemaic queen, having relatively short, sloping forehead, protruding lips deeply cut at the corners, and a short, knob-like, jutting chin (fig. 82).[165] She, however, notices some important differences in the hair style. What cannot be doubted is the fact that here one deals with a very individualised image, which also wears a probable diadem. If the sculpture was made in a different medium, i.e. marble or bronze, and kept those characteristics, the main criteria for identifying a sculpture as royal would be there. Finally, it has to be said that a number of votives follow the same general type of this head, but even if interest in individualisation exists, the portrait-like features are definitely of a lesser degree (figs 83–84).[166]

Another limestone female head has been identified as a portrait of Berenice I (fig. 85).[167] Two similar heads found in the Pyla sanctuary and now in the British Museum have been associated with the same queen.[168] As they have no veil over their heads, these sculptures differ from the vast majority of the female Cypriot Hellenistic votaries. These heads have strong individualised features, such as a long face, fleshy curving lips, deep-set eyes, ridged eyelids, arched eyebrows, a deep indentation between the nose and mouth and a tripartite curve of the upper lip. Similar features can be seen in the limestone statue of a female lyre-player from Larnaka, and now in the British Museum (fig. 86). While this lyre-player was identified with Berenice I by Pryce,[169] Tatton-Brown was more careful to mention that "her features resemble those of Berenice I".[170] In reality, if one follows Smith's argument, there are no certain sculptural portrait parallels of this queen.

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[164] Connelly 1988, 24.

[165] Connelly 1988, 28–29.

[166] Connelly 1988, 24; e.g. Connelly 1988, Cat. 4–8, pls 13–14, figs 46–53; cf. Pryce 1931, 119, C 354; Decaudin 1987, 106, no. 49, pl. XLII; Karageorghis 2002, 207, no. 267. Another head from Arsos has received particular discussion with regard to chronology and mixture of styles, and should therefore receive a special note in this section. Sørensen (1981), after comparison with other four sculptures with similar features, re-dates this sculpture to the third rather than the fourth century BC and discusses the influences of the representations of Arsinoe II.

[167] Cited in Karageorghis 2002b, 201 and Vasileiou 2009, 155.

[168] For discussion on these heads see Tatton-Brown 2000b, 673–674.

[169] Pryce 1931, 119, C 352.

[170] Tatton-Brown 1987, 17, fig. 12.

There is only a coin portrait of Berenice I, in the much stylised double portrait of the *Theon Soteiron* issued by Ptolemy II. In this respect, any attempts at identifications with this queen are indeed very risky.

Both Connelly and Smith have come to similar conclusions regarding Cypriot portraiture.[171] They argued that Ptolemaic royal statues on Cyprus should be made of bronze or marble.[172] The bronze and marble portrait sculptures were melted down or burned for plaster,[173] as several kilns such as those found in the temple site of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos prove.[174] In Connelly's view, as none of the statues survived we cannot be sure whether they were true portraits or generic types meant to represent rather than to depict individuality; it is possible, however, that in the cosmopolitan coastal centres the dedications reflected the common practices of styles of the greater Hellenistic *koine*. The 'backwoods' island sanctuaries maintained the limestone dedications, thus preserving the local votive tradition.[175]

Artists in Cyprus, an island very rich in copper sources, would have the material to produce bronze statuary, in contrast to the marble which had to be imported. The most evocative example of the existence of bronze statuary in Cyprus, probably even before the Hellenistic period, is the so-called Chatsworth head found in Tamassos.[176] Even if evidence for local metalworking exists in previous periods,[177] we are not in any position to know if the technique of making bronze statues was present on the island. The origins of production therefore remain unknown, and in a way, are not of special interest to the present study.[178] Additionally, although it seems that none of the Cypriot bases make direct reference to the material of the statue, there is an example of a marble Hellenistic honorific decree referring directly to bronze statues.[179] Limestone sculptures have been seen

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171 Smith 1988, Appendix VI; 1991, 211; Connelly 1988, 111–112.

172 The idea that nearly all the honorific sculptures of the Hellenistic Cyprus were made of bronze or marble was earlier expressed by Vessberg in *SCE* 4(3) and by Mitford (1961a, 2); after Connelly (1988) and Smith (1988) it was followed by many later authors, such as Senff (1993, 43) or Brönner (2001, 31).

173 Senff 2005, 99.

174 Mitford 1961a, 2.

175 Connelly 1988, 111–112.

176 Vermeule 1976, fig. I.1.

177 e.g. Muhly, Maddin and Karageorghis 1982; Papasavvas 2001.

178 As Vermeule (1976, 15–16) explains, opinions are divided as to the statue's origin. Some critics have even suggested that it was of Cypriot manufacture. Vermeule, however, prefers to see it as an importation from the Aegean.

179 Mitford 1971, 79–80, no. 34.

by both scholars as representing generic votaries with individualised faces. Many of them clearly reflect Ptolemaic royal style, but in the absence of any safe royal insignia, "none of the surviving limestone portraits, however, represent kings or queens. They are images of the local Cypriot bourgeoisie, anxious to appear Hellenic and Alexandrian, prosperous and cultivated".[180]

The fine separation between marble and limestone traditions in sculpting techniques has led to many misunderstandings and wrong directions in scholarship, to the point that Cypriot sculpture outside the main coastal centres remained separate from that of the Hellenistic world "since the principal medium continued to be the locally available stone and many of the statues were still being dedicated in sanctuaries rather than acting as memorials or adorning public buildings as they did elsewhere in the Greek world".[181] It is not impossible that bronze and marble workshops existed in Cyprus, at least by the Roman period; however, I would disagree with a sharp division between those traditions and the limestone one based on style, or, as Senff puts it, based on a far superior quality and different iconographic tradition, which would separate the works of art executed in the more precious materials.[182] As shown below, 'hybridity' in concepts and types and various slower processes of social interaction can bridge the gaps between the various traditions.

Nonetheless, another problem arises. Should the possibility that some of those sculptures are real portraits, at least of the 'local Cypriot bourgeoisie', be abandoned? Heads that look realistic and individualised by themselves prove to be typical and conventional when viewed as part of a large body of votive sculptures whose tradition extended well into the previous centuries.[183] However, one needs to notice strongly individualised features on some limestone heads, such as the pronounced parietal bone, the long and sharp nose and the strong and jutting chin of the colossal standing draped male from the Voni sanctuary (fig. 87).[184] Additionally, a close comparison of a head found in Idalion with one of unknown provenance, now in the Copenhagen Museum, leaves open the possibility that those two heads might represent the same unidentified individual (figs 88–89).[185]

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180 Smith 1991, 211.
181 Tatton-Brown 2000a, 341.
182 Senff 1989, 188.
183 Connelly 1988; Ridgway 2001, 131.
184 Connelly 1988, 60, no. 21, pl. 22, figs 82–85.
185 For the comparison see Nielsen 1992, 30, no. 17; 2001, 131–133, no. 42 (note that in both publications the provenance is the non-correctly cited Golgoi instead of Idalion).

Looking back in time, it should be said that Cypriot sculpture was already closely connected to Greek prototypes by the Cypro-Classical period. A rising influence of individual portraiture, started already by the fourth century BC, progressed through a strong Cypriot filter;[186] marble heads, such as the boy found in the Amathous sanctuary (fig. 90), which was probably connected with an inscribed base mentioning the son of the last Amathousian *Basileus* Androkles (ch. 3.3.3), and probably a statue of *Basileus* Nikokles in the Aphrodite sanctuary at Ledra,[187] could perhaps be seen as bridges to mainland Greek styles and ideas about individuality.[188]

At this point, an effort to bring together the evolution of sacred landscapes with Cypriot 'portraiture' should be made. The practice of dedicating free-standing limestone sculptures, becomes less widespread at the end of the first century BC/first century AD—and eventually dies out by the end of the second century AD[189]—when major Cypriot sanctuaries seem to have already become the focus of the centralised political authorities, and extra-urban sanctuaries had lost their significance and importance. Sanctuaries remodelled in the Roman period, notably those of Palaipaphos, Kourion and Amathous, did not attract similar limestone votive offerings. Additionally, as the epigraphic evidence suggests, for the first time statues were also erected as monuments in Cypriot public city-squares,[190] and this phenomenon fits well with the urbanisation processes examined in the landscapes chapter. The urbanisation process becomes clear in the Roman Salamis and Amathous, where we can evidence the existence of podium temples in connection with the agora.[191] As examined below, references to the friendship and kinship with the king are very common formulas in the urban sacred space. Particularly the concept of kinship, of common descent, is of huge importance in the formation of a common identity of people.[192] This is verified by the language of the inscribed bases of the statues or by other epigraphic evidence. Even if the concept of kinship is more attested in the coastal/urban space, other formulas of power are not absent from inland

186 Erath-Koiner 2007, 214.
187 Mitford 1961b, 136–138.
188 Erath-Koiner 2007, 214–215.
189 Connelly 1988, 9. For the debate on the cessation of the practice of placing votaries in the Cypriot sanctuaries see Donkow 2004, 36.
190 Brönner 2001, 31. Inscribed statue bases were found within the city centres: see, for example, Mitford (1971, 100–102, no. 46) for Kourion; Pouilloux, Roesch and Marcillet-Jaubert (1987, 31–42) for Salamis; Yon (2004, 246–258) for Kition.
191 cf. *SCE* 4(3): 48–49.
192 Hall 2002.

'secondary' centres.[193] I suggest that the appearance of royal image and references to king's friends in the coastal urban centres in the Hellenistic II period, is related to a more centralised and unifying control and Ptolemaic administration, as proposed in chapter 2.

When it comes to the rare phenomenon of surviving marble sculptures found in Cyprus,[194] as seen in the Soloi section, female 'portraiture' can constructively add to the argument if compared to coin-portraits and heads found elsewhere. The striking similarities of the Alexandrian Hirsch and Kassel queens (figs 91–92),[195] which are most probably identified with the Ptolemaic female ideal images of Arsinoe II and Berenice III respectively,[196] with the two Cypriot heads from Soloi, can hardly be denied (figs 7, 22). In addition, another marble head from Soloi, though badly damaged, displays similar stylistic features (fig. 93) and even with stylistic differences, it could actually even be compared with the *Sarapeum* queen in Alexandria.[197] The Soloi-Cholades sculptural group is also very instrumental in showing how Alexandrine stylistic developments on marble sculptures were transferred to local limestone sculptures; in addition to the Alexander head examined earlier (fig. 19), other female limestone heads, for example, belong to this group, showing that elements of the royal portrait-style were not restricted to the artists of the court, but transmitted to the local sculptors (fig. 94).[198]

Even though Westholm is convinced that these marble heads from Soloi are not royal portraits, he proceeds to a detailed comparison with other so-called royal heads and coin portraits that had been analysed so far, and concludes that the types correspond fairly well in facial features, particular to many members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, such as rounded foreheads, long oval faces, long noses and protruding chins.[199] For instance, as he mentions, a comparison of the Soloi-Cholades head (fig. 22) with coin portraits of Arsinoe II reveals the same, somewhat rounded forehead, long oval face, gently rounded eyebrow, long nose and a protruding but flattened characteristic chin.[200] The fine melon rolls of this Cholades head, adopted by

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193 Hirschfeld 1996.
194 The recent publication of four previously little known examples of Hellenistic marble sculpture from Cyprus, now in the British Museum, suggests that more such examples may survive: see Higgs and Kiely 2009.
195 For further comparisons see Thompson 1955 and Erath-Koiner 2003, 31.
196 Smith 1988, 91, pl. 37, figs 2–5.
197 Smith 1988, pl. 36, no. 3.
198 Westholm 1936, 134–135.
199 Westholm 1936, 188–195.
200 Westholm 1936, 191.

many Ptolemaic queens, are but rarely found on the Alexandrian heads. Furthermore, the back of this head is obliquely cut off and roughly leveled. It may be that the back of the head (and possibly of head 438)[201] was added in some other material, such as gypsum or stucco. Exactly the same technique is attested for the construction of other probable Ptolemaic queen portraits, i.e. that of Arsinoe III.[202] This technique was used very widely in Alexandria,[203] and indeed that sculpture should probably be regarded as an import. Additionally, something should be said about the size of that sculpture. It is a very small, under life-size 'portrait'. Representations on that scale have been seen by Smith as private dedications in royal or other divine sanctuary-precincts, or even as cult figures in privately sponsored royal cults.[204] The wavy hair of the Cholades head (fig. 7), parted in the middle and combed backwards, is similar to those of the Hirsch and Kassel queens. However, these could be elements of fashion. In addition, of crucial importance is the fact that around the crown there was a ribbon added, probably in some other material, making this a possible royal diadem. Finally, the material used should be considered. White, fine-grained marble, a rare phenomenon in statuary from Cyprus up to that period, could be expected to be used for the construction of divine or royal statues.

The survey above has clearly established how the practice of identifying particular individuals in Cypriot pieces, made of both limestone and marble, has led to serious misunderstandings and risky interpretations. "It is, of course, more interesting to find kings and queens than unknowns".[205] Following Smith, however, one needs to be concerned about what can and cannot reasonably be known. In place of a stylistic approach, a more historical model according to which portraits vary and develop in response to contextual socio-political needs and development has been proposed.[206] Such an approach is still lacking from the study of Cypriot Hellenistic portrait-like sculpture. If the emphasis is shifted from typology and identification to contextual and ideological models, an alternative approach to the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures could be established. Imbuing the Cypriot 'portraits' with symbolic and ideological meanings, positioning them within their

201 Westholm 1936, 107.
202 Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 84, no. 130; Queyrel 1998, 211, fig. 157.
203 Bieber 1981, 93.
204 Smith 1988, 11.
205 Smith 1988, 1.
206 Smith 1988, 5.

individual spatial and cultural contexts, would be a different way to approach issues of power and interaction between the two different artistic traditions in a local context.

4.4.3. *Materialisation of Ideologies: An Alternative Approach?*

Modern approaches to Ptolemaic power have proposed a flexible and pragmatic character of Ptolemaic rule, showing that the proposed strong 'authoritarian' 'imperialistic' 'state model' could be a myth.[207] Recent academic perspectives encourage students of the Hellenistic period to look at Ptolemaic power through other channels of communication observing that in territories considered as Ptolemaic 'possessions' the Ptolemaic kings actually showed flexibility based on the understanding of local structures in order to legitimate their power more efficiently.[208] Similarly, one should adopt a more flexible attitude regarding the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures.

This, of course, does not imply the possibility of associating specific heads with specific individuals. Drawing ideas from Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and *habitus* (ch. 1.6), one can investigate how social agents develop strategies which are adapted to the needs of the social worlds that they inhabit. Humans are not static/passive receivers of information from static/passive objects, but are constantly, and usually unconsciously, engaged in daily practices acting on the level of a bodily logic. As has been argued, ideology becomes an important source of social power and can be given material form controlled by various groups of people. Materialisation has been regarded as "the transformation of ideas, values, stories, myths, and the like, into a physical reality—a ceremonial event, a symbolic object, a monument, or a writing system".[209] In this respect the process of materialisation has been seen "as an ongoing arena for competition, control of meaning, and the negotiation of power relationships".[210]

While such processes of materialisation have been frequently touched upon in the landscapes and case studies chapters, materialisation will be more analytically addressed here with reference to one particular object category, i.e. the Cypriot 'portraits'. It is expected that the application of such ideas, focusing only on one category of material evidence, will help

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[207] e.g. Bagnall 1976, 246–251; Samuel 1993 with a response by Delia and discussion; Shipley 2000, 59–60; Marquaille 2001; 2003; Manning 2003; 2010.
[208] Marquaille 2003, 35.
[209] DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 16.
[210] DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 16.

both the author and the reader to better understand and capture issues of materialisation processes. The main concern of this section will not be the 'portraiture' itself, but addressing the probable politico-religious and cultural meanings attached to those portrait-like statues and the involvement of those sculptures in the Hellenistic *koine*. Such an approach is in line with the most recent methodologies proposed by Dillon and Jaeggi, who move beyond the narrow focused analysis of stylistic development and subject identification, opening up new interpretative possibilities related to Greek portraits which lack 'identity' and/or date.[211] "While there is no doubt that the traditional portrait-types and categories remain useful tools, it is refreshing to see the (some times hyper-intellectualized) structures upon which they are built poked and prodded a bit".[212]

It has already been established how modern western concepts of art have been transferred to the study of past cultures and societies, and particularly to the study of 'portraiture'. Hellenistic 'royal style' has been overtly discussed in the previous sections. However, by aiming to move beyond a stylistic approach in an archaeological discussion, one cannot really escape the very concept of 'style'; for style "creates and defines artefact types, culture types and even types of evolutionary trajectories".[213] However, a more anthropological approach to the study of art and style should be employed.[214]

Style, although 'elusive', 'implicit' and 'ambiguous', is rooted in both time and space, and unavoidably cannot be separated from the social contexts and values in which the artefacts were produced.[215] The dichotomy between style and function is artificial, and these two dimensions are embedded in each other.[216] As Hodder argues, style is not just a medium for description but a medium of social practice.[217] Gamble has stressed that as style is linked to identity, it is also 'eclectic'; thus its interpretation and explanation should also be.[218] Style, finally, has also been seen as "a vehicle of expression within the group, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social and

211 Dillon 2006; Jaeggi 2008.
212 Schultz 2008.
213 Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 1.
214 Gell 1998.
215 Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 1–2; cf. Shennan 1989, 17–22.
216 For a general discussion on the dichotomy between style and function see Jones 1997, 110–112.
217 Hodder 1990; for the problem of archaeological description and sculptural style see Donohue 2005, 14–19.
218 Gamble 2004, 110.

moral life through the emotional suggestiveness of forms".[219] The use of style in archaeological analysis and interpretation "is not only healthy but provocative".[220] Nonetheless, a holistic stylistic approach should take into consideration not only formal elements and motifs, but also formal relationships and qualities, which derive from and produce context and cultural meaning. In this sense, style could be used as a 'facilitator' for the understanding of humans and of material culture rather than as a 'barrier'.[221] Moving beyond a purely materialistic approach to style, it should be considered that style is also related to variable, polysemic and ambivalent ideas, intentions, and perceptions.[222] Its use in archaeology, therefore, should remain multifaceted, flexible, ambiguous and problematical.

By replacing the culturally relative concept of art with a harder analytical concept, such as 'visual communication' or 'expressive-affective symbolism', some conceptual strategies to face such problems of modern temporalities regarding the function and understanding of 'style' could be developed.[223] Visual communication implies the purposeful use of regular visual forms that are intended to communicate ideas, whether or not the modern viewer can decode those messages. In Corbey, Layton and Tanner's interpretation the definition of art as visual communication could with relative ease be applied cross-culturally, because it "avoids having to determine whether other people's aesthetic criteria coincide with ours, or whether we and they share imaginative systems of metaphor and symbolism".[224]

These comments lead more emphatically to the second and third enquiries posed in the beginning of this chapter: can any ideological meanings be assigned to the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures that would associate them with social power, creating a *lingua franca* for communication between the ruler and the ruled, locals and settlers, elites and non-elites? How can the development of the local Cypriot tradition and its response to the influences of the Hellenistic *koine* be traced from the study of one particular votive category? To approach these topics, a more contextualised ideological model, according to which 'portraits' vary and develop in response to local political and sociological needs and developments, needs to be employed.

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219 Donohue 2005, 2 (citing Schapiro, M. 1953. "Style". In *Anthropology Today. An Encyclopedic Inventory*, edited by A.L. Kroeber, 287–312. Chicago: University Press).
220 Conkey 1990, 5.
221 Conkey 1990, 7.
222 Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 2.
223 Corbey, Layton and Tanner 2004, 358.
224 Corbey, Layton and Tanner 2004, 358–359.

Most certainly, culture is to be understood as more than an adaptation to the political environment. In addition, the content of ideologies that particular social groups, elites and non-elites, use to facilitate and legitimate their power is expected to be expressed through material objects. This is where the concepts of ‘social technology’, ‘material-culture-as-text’ and ‘embodiment’, discussed when ‘setting the scene’ of this project in relation with materiality and objectification, need to be considered more emphatically (ch. 1.6). It has also been seen how social power was investigated by archaeologists in relation to domination and resistance. These models support the idea that domination may be expressed more subtly, through construction and reproduction of ideologies. In addition, resistance theory, unlike acculturation, encourages scholars to regard groups of people as more active. Within the material record, resistance could be expressed in a covert manner, involving the continuation of religious practices or the maintenance of a traditional material culture. Terms such as ‘resistance accommodation’ and ‘resistance adaptation’, have been widely used by ‘post-processual’ archaeologists to indicate that resistance was not an ‘either/or’ proposition, but rather an ongoing, usually muted process with extremely subtle aspects.[225]

If the Cypriot Hellenistic ‘portraits’ are reconsidered from these perspectives, a deeper explanation may be found in terms of the relationship between artistic production, legitimation of political power and local population. The hard-stone Pharaonic statues of the Ptolemies were important concrete symbols mediating the king to the native population of Egypt and incorporating him into their traditional culture. As Stewart puts it, in Egypt “the local manner was both omnipresent and congenial to the image the Ptolemies wanted to project”.[226] The Ptolemaic power structures were keen enough to continue the native tradition of representation for practical, artistic and ideological reasons.[227] Ptolemies had to be in harmony with Egyptian religion, otherwise the stability of their rule would be jeopardised.[228] Both the Ptolemies and the Egyptian local population perceived the relation of the ruler to the local traditional religious system as the incorporation of Ptolemaic power into local dominant symbolic systems. The compatibility of the new and the traditional is revealed by many other examples from the Hellenistic world, amongst them the case of Rhodians; as we learn from

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225 Orser 2002, 477.
226 Stewart 1990, 203.
227 Ashton 2001, 24.
228 Shipley 2000, 196.

epigraphy before accepting Ptolemy I as a god and before dedicating to him a *Ptolemaeion*, they were guided by local religious frameworks, i.e. asking an oracle's agreement.[229]

Representing the ruler within the local tradition could be seen as a way of making sense of an otherwise 'incomprehensible intrusion of authority' into the Egyptian world. For Stanwick, the 'hybrid' forms of sculpture, i.e. the combination of Egyptian and Greek elements, was an ideological experiment that signified both the clash and the integration between the two under Ptolemaic rule.[230] For Cypriots though, a Ptolemaic king was not a Pharaoh. However, it has to be mentioned that Yon has argued for a possible cult for the *Basileis* of Salamis.[231] While this hypothesis remains problematic, one should acknowledge the hero-cults of *Basileus* Onesilos of Salamis (Herodotus, 5.114–115) and Ariadne (Plutarch, *Theseus* 20.2–4) practiced in Amathous, which would give a basis for a cult for humans in a Cypriot context. Additionally, one should consider the 'heroisation' of Cypriot *Basileis* (e.g. that of Euagoras of Salamis),[232] and their possible 'divine kingship'. Nonetheless, in these cases, and as seen in the Amathous chapter, the person of the *Basileus* although may be hedged around by taboos and connected with the prosperity of the kingdom, it is not considered as divine *per se*, and the rituals do not make it such.[233]

Alongside these religious considerations, it may be noted that in Cyprus, contrary to the case of Egypt, there was no purely 'native style'. Many 'hybrid' forms emerged diachronically both in concept and style. The 'hellenisation' of the island, and particularly that of the sculpture,[234] grew already by the fifth century BC, for reasons examined in the Amathous section. It is only natural to find that during the Hellenistic period, it was mainly the Greek art of Alexandria that played a significant role in Cypriot sculpture. This was an art which it was possible for Cypriots to understand. In that sense, the mixing of styles would be a more subtle, and probably a less visible process. Nonetheless, confronting Cypriot limestone 'portraiture' with a different eye, one could similarly consider the possibility of a visual art which incorporates the Hellenistic monarchic power into the long-term Cypriot traditional culture.

229 Shipley 2000, 162.
230 Stanwick 2002, 51–52.
231 Yon 1981; 1993, 149.
232 Bosworth 1988, 279–280.
233 cf. Price 1986, 236.
234 Bernhard-Walcher 1999, 166; Hermary 2003; Senff 2005, 104–105.

I am referring here to the city-kingdom period limestone sculptures, which represent the male votary, for example, always clothed and usually wreathed (figs 95–98). The votary is shown frontal and motionless, with emphasis on the head which dominates the more generalised form of the body. Despite differences in sex, age and details of dress or accessories, "votives adhere to the strict formula of their types, maintaining certain sameness in their difference".[235] Only the added and extremely sporadic inscriptions could identify the votive as a specific person. The wooden table in the left hand of a Cypro-Classical limestone statue from Voni and now at the Cyprus Museum has an inscription that identifies the votary as Kilikas (fig. 97).

Connelly has emphasised the 'paramount importance' for ancient Cypriots of having their prayers perpetually offered in the form of statues before the divinity.[236] In her interpretation, the longevity and continuity of the practice of dedicating the image of the worshipper in Cyprus, has been regarded as a uniquely native phenomenon, independently conceived and locally developed.[237] Nonetheless, the religious tradition of dedicating the image of the worshipper before the god is a very ancient one attested in the ancient Mediterranean and the Near East.[238] Quantity, repetition and similarity in the mass-production of images, might ensure that the prayer will be repeated in perpetuity before the god. As Connelly argues, repetition of prayer is a spiritual dynamic practiced in a great number of world religions. In ancient Cyprus, identical or nearly identical statues might reflect "the full community of the worshippers and the constant repetition of their individual and communal prayers".[239]

Studying ancient Cypriot religion within a modern 'post-colonial' context, it would be dangerous and simplistic to attach any further religious meanings to this tradition. Nevertheless, those fundamental artistic and religious elements, as Connelly argues, are particularly prevalent in the sculpture produced by the combination of the local tradition with the style of the Hellenistic *koine*.[240] As has been established, the Cypriot Hellenistic sculptures examined above usually appear to show individualised, portrait-

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[235] Connelly 1989, 217.
[236] Connelly 1989, 217.
[237] Connelly 1988, 111; 1991, 93.
[238] Connelly (1989, 211; 1991, 94) has made an effort to analyse the function and meaning of this tradition.
[239] Connelly 1991, 94.
[240] Connelly 1989, 217.

like features, influenced by Alexandrian models, but they are in fact generic, following the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical tradition.[241]

One cannot be certain if and how exactly this specific religious tradition interacts with the establishment of the cult for humans, i.e. the royal cult, but the accommodation of such a cult in a Cypriot context would most certainly have had its own particularities. Anastassiades has been instrumental in addressing the *interpretatio Cypria* of the ruler cult, which combines local traditions with Ptolemaic beliefs concerning the divine, expressed in various ways:[242] as he emphasises the cult was offered to individual rulers and not to the dynasty as a collective cult, as was usually the case in Alexandria. In the Alexandrian capital, the *Sema* formed the cult centre of Alexander and the Ptolemies and was the focus of the official cult of the dynasty. In Cyprus, at least for the most part, we should speak of the ruler cult as a matter of individual or city initiative.

The relationship between generic votive statuaries and the motivation of true portraiture, while definitely connected to the spreading of the so-called Hellenistic artistic *koine*, might be better explained after one acknowledges primary religious functions of the statues in a Cypriot context in tandem with individualities related to the Ptolemaic administration of Cyprus and the upkeep of sanctuaries in the Hellenistic I and II periods (see chs 1.1 and 2.4.2), in addition to technical considerations (see below). In this context, it would be important to consider how elements of both local and foreign politico-religious ideology may have blended with elements of the Ptolemaic administrative policies, and Hellenistic religious and cultural *koinai*. Elements of agency, identity, political "uses of the past in the past",[243] social memory and cognitive/emotional responses should undoubtedly be highly involved.

A shift to a cognitive theory of cultural meaning, reception and psychoanalytic approaches to art could inspire a more balanced and flexible interpretation of the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures, in terms of ideological meanings and their relation to the Hellenistic political power and cultural *koine*. Drawing on those theories, it is interesting to examine how people's experiences are internalised. What follows is that cultural meanings are not fixed or limited to static groups or traditions, but at the same time, neither are they constantly revised and contested.[244]

241 Connelly 1988, 111.
242 Anastassiades 2010.
243 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003b, 1.
244 Strauss and Quinn 1997.

To bring such ideas into the discussion of the Cypriot 'portraiture', one needs to think about the meaning that an ancient viewer would give to a portrait at the given time, including the identification of it, expectations regarding it, and even feelings about it and motivation to respond to it.[245] Trying to understand human responses to art implies the understanding of the symptoms of the relationship between image and beholder;[246] the response of people to art objects, as a symptom of the relationship between image and beholder, should be regarded in relation to their class, status and cultural context.[247] Moving from the process or psychology of looking at art to the various conceptual interpretative frameworks, it should therefore be said that any work of art can give rise, in different observers (and sometimes even in the same viewer), to a multitude of varying and even contradictory responses and meanings.[248] One should also consider the very fact that archaeologists, similar to psychoanalysts, "discover and gather data from the past, from scenes of memory, fields of unremembered human experience, realms of lived lives".[249] Trying to understand cultural meanings implies that a different interpretation would be evoked in people with different life experiences and power status. A dialogue between anthropological, sociological and psychoanalytical theory and the archaeological evidence could provide a better understanding of the cultural meanings of objects. One should, however, be careful to avoid dangerous explanations of cross-cultural similarities and recognise differences in human behaviour across time and space. It should be kept in mind that material culture and patterning can be better understood when one first understands the social conditions of its production.[250]

Group psychology has mainly been discussed by Freud, Volkan and Bion, and summarised by Russell in relation to 'large group identity' and archaeology:[251] the role of leader-follower interaction over intra-group relations should be considered. However, as groups depend on the existence of individuals, individual awareness displays characteristics of group psychology. Group psychology on the other hand, is highly related to 'large group identity', which among ethnic and national identities also encapsulates the

245 Strauss and Quinn 1997, 6.
246 Freedberg 1989, xxiv.
247 Freedberg 1989, xix–xxv.
248 Elsner 1995, 3.
249 Montgomery Byles 2003, 63.
250 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 144.
251 Russell 2006, 186.

inter-related phenomena of religious and ideological identities which are of more interest to the present study. To Volkan, group psychology is a tent. The members of a group are interested in keeping the pole upright (the leader in place) in order to keep their tent up; nonetheless, they are equally concerned with keeping the tent canvas taut as a shelter for those underneath. "It is the manufacture of the material of this tent canvas and the group member's actions to keep the canvas taut that constitute 'large group identity'."[252]

These comments lead more clearly to the alternative approach regarding the Cypriot 'portraits', which this study proposes. Recognising the importance of group psychology, of ideology and active style, all maintained and practiced by both elite and non-elite active agents, it is important to examine the function of Cypriot 'portraits' as probable symbolic objects and icons, which become components of social relations and facilitate 'visual communication' among individuals and social groups.[253] Icons of public display, such as the limestone votive Cypriot 'portraits' dedicated primarily in inland sanctuaries and the honorific statues dedicated (mainly in Hellenistic II period) in the city centres and major coastal sanctuaries, can communicate narrative messages to many individuals simultaneously, and at the same time, they can build or reinforce vertical as well as horizontal social relationships.[254] Material culture is not a passive product of programmed machines. Visual communication can often be achieved following familiar stylistic images, which can be 'read' more directly from a large group, creating a 'vivid experience of ideology'.[255] While the elites may limit access to the material and technology of the production of such objects, i.e. marble or bronze in the case of sculptures, recognition of primary religious or ideological functions of these objects could at the same time lead to the use of common and less expensive materials, i.e. limestone.[256]

The understanding of the function of Cypriot 'portraits' as symbolic objects and icons is primarily based on the understanding of the long-term continuities that exist in the Cypriot cultural traditions. In opposition to earlier approaches that regarded material culture as a reflection of social realities, Hodder has emphasised the active role of objects, the form and

[252] Russell 2006, 186.
[253] Hodder 1982.
[254] DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 18.
[255] DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 18.
[256] DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 18.

functions of which derive from pre-existing cultural traditions: such traditions, are continually renegotiated and transformed, but nevertheless generated from within.[257]

As examined in our case studies, one of the central elements of Ptolemaic politico-religious agenda and ideology is the promotion and patronage of local cults and religious ideas. Had the Ptolemies, or—better—the Ptolemaic attendants on the island, understood some fundamental cultural and religious beliefs of Cypriots, such as having the human standing in the sanctuary before the god, this might have led them to adapt existing artistic forms that served the legitimisation of their power in non-confrontational, more flexible ways. In addition, as further discussed below, it is possible that, especially in the Hellenistic I period, local existing systems and elites were incorporated into Ptolemaic ideology. Continuity in meaning might have allowed some continuity in types, combined with differentiation embodied by the Hellenistic artistic and cultural *koine* fashions. Following the theory that ideology usually reproduces (or at least transforms) social order,[258] such an incorporation of local elites and artistic/religious production might be a more subtle route for politico-religious ideological domination.

The character of such ideological domination may be better understood after looking at the Hellenistic kingship theory proposed by Smith after a detailed analysis of a variety of sources and the royal titles.[259] Those ideas would have been mediated to the public by the portrait and could therefore bring both the ancient and the modern viewer closer to the actual language of the portrait style. Next to heredity and military victory, the ethical and divine conceptions of the king were added. Among the usual virtues of the Hellenistic kings, the most striking ones were *philanthropia*, which is translated as loving, caring and materially benefiting one's subjects. Cities or individuals dedicate sculptures to the kings and their attendants, for their *philia* (friendship), *eunoia* (favour), *andragathia* (bravery) and *euergesia* (benefaction).[260] As the king should mediate between mortals and immortals for the former's prosperity, proper religious observance and piety, *eusebeia*, was also important. The titles used by the members of the royal house are related to the development of the dynastic cult and reflect political ideology as seen

257 Hodder 1991, 10–11.
258 Shanks and Tilley 1987, 180.
259 Smith 1988, 48–53; cf. Walbank 1984, 81–84; Shipley 2000, 60–68.
260 Specifically on kings benefaction see Bringmann 1993.

in the Soloi section.[261] The turn of the head, also present in a few Cypriot limestone pieces, such as the male Golgoi head discussed above (fig. 75), portrays an elevated *pathos*, translating as expressions of sympathy, commitment and concern of the ruler for his subjects.[262] The impact of charismatic leadership is crucial to the development of society. Within a group, members usually absorb the social, moral, ethical and political tasks which the charismatic leadership internally demands of them.[263] Ptolemaic kings interact with the city, benefit it and guarantee peace,[264] all of which are part of a politico-religious ideology.

To assess whether Cypriot, at least marble and bronze, sculptures conveyed such messages the context of the royal and elite statues should be recalled from the language of the existing inscribed bases, which could allow a very direct insight into ancient actors' mindsets and concerns (Appendix 2: table 1). Inscriptions, aside from their power to activate speech, as integral elements of the monuments they accompanied contribute to a complex semiological message, unifying visual and verbal representation.[265] Inscribed documents in a religious or civic context are physical manifestations of belief systems and they can be particularly useful in bringing to life the importance of prestige and public recognition, and the desire of people to obtain that prestige.[266] Through inscriptions, elites can transmit messages and legitimate authority, usually in a more direct way than iconography, and therefore, they are by far the most important source of information available for studying the fundamental aspect of benefits and honour-exchange between the city and those elites.[267] Additionally, they can formalise rules and relationships set out by power structures, communicating political messages.[268]

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261 Hölbl 2003, 286. For the meaning of the Greek dynastic cult-names of the Ptolemies see Koenen 1993, 61–66.

262 Smith 1988, 50; 1991, 207.

263 Russell 2006, 187.

264 Marquaille 2001, 363–391. Cyprus of course, usually became the battleground for the Ptolemaic dynasty itself, while it was also subject to attacks by the Seleucid kings of Syria. For instance in 168 BC Antiochus IV *Epiphanes* conquered Cyprus, but Roman intervention forced him to withdraw. Thereafter Rome, by that point a major power in the eastern Mediterranean, became increasingly involved in Cypriot affairs. However, the relative silence of the sources seems to be evidence of the placid environment and the considerable prosperity of Ptolemaic Cyprus; see Tatton-Brown 1990b, 98; Vanderstar 1995, 87; Michaelides 1996; Mehl 2000, 715–716, 761.

265 Bodel 2001, 25–30.

266 Rives 2001, 135.

267 Rives 2001, 136; cf. Cohen 1995, 8–9.

268 DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996, 19.

Cypriot inscribed bases, give a wealth of repetitive evidence, which reflects issues of the political ideology of the era, turning honorific statues into positive political instruments. As Smith argues, the term 'propaganda' should be avoided because it has strong 'pejorative' and 'sinister' associations which preclude both differentiation of function and explanation of the effect of visual images.[269] In this sense 'propaganda' over-stresses or prejudges intentions. Cypriot cities, individuals, and social groups dedicate sculptures not only to the kings, but to their attendants and friends on the island, particularly to the *Strategos* and his family, rewarding them and reciprocating for their beneficial and generous attitude.[270] An important instrument and bearer of royal ideology would have been the Ptolemaic garrison stationed on the island and the various federations (*koina*), as the epigraphic evidence makes clear.

It is not certain whether the dynastic cult was established by the garrison in Cyprus, but the ruler cult was certainly promoted by them.[271] On the other hand, turning to the epigraphic evidence compels us to look for an explanation of the civic ruler cult not only in the intentions of the monarchs, but also in the interests of the cities, to express gratitude and expectation of future benefaction.[272] Similarly, the rulers would respond to these honours by promising to consider the interests of the cities. Such dedications have been regarded in the context of Hellenistic 'theatrical behaviour', underlining many aspects of the fragile balance of power between monarchic aspirations and the pretensions of urban populations.[273] On the other hand, reciprocity in religion works as a form of morality.[274] "Praising the king will bring direct emoluments to artful performers … Praise serves to stabilize the system of rank and power: the king is declared and, in a way, made to guarantee safety and good life, while the god upholds the world. Religion operates to stabilize the accepted order, praising its highest starting point".[275]

269 Smith 1988, 27; cf. Stewart 1993, 48–50.
270 For the Ptolemaic officials as mediators of Ptolemaic power outside Egypt see Marquaille 2001, 315–351. For the importance of the friends and relatives of the kings see Walbank 1984, 68–71; Samuel 1993, 185–189; Shipley 2000, 76–77; Thompson 2003, 113; Chamoux 2003, 237.
271 Bagnall 1976, 68–73.
272 Chaniotis 2003, 440.
273 Chaniotis 2003, 440.
274 Burkert 1996, 138.
275 Burkert 1996, 92.

Following the above analysis of civic cults and in analogy with detailed epigraphic studies in other areas of the Mediterranean,[276] the honorific sculptures associated with those inscriptions, when directly referring to a member or members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, should clearly be seen as part of the civic royal cults, as a means for the cities to appease the rulers. One problem arises, however. As already established, none of the surviving portrait-like sculptures have been found in association with an inscribed base. Considering the history of research done in Cypriot sanctuaries, most of these sculptures found their way into various international museums without specific archaeological context, and usually without any information regarding their provenance.

It also has to be remembered that the majority of the extant limestone sculptures with a known context come from intra-island, 'extra-urban' sanctuaries, where inscriptions in general, and inscribed statue bases specifically, have rarely been recorded. While Palaipaphos has revealed a great number of inscribed bases, none of the related statues has survived. Additionally, most of the Palaipaphos inscriptions were not found *in situ* within the sanctuary. Many of them were built into later, usually Ottoman period, walls. While continuity of life allowed their survival because of their shape, their associated statues were 'useless' in a later context. On the other hand, the case of Mersinaki sanctuary near Soloi, which seems to have been abandoned within the Roman period, should be regarded as instrumental in revealing not only the lack of archaeological knowledge with which the contemporary researcher is confronted, but also the complexity of the issue, when one attempts to associate inscriptions, 'portraits' and sacred landscapes. In this minor coastal temenos site, where very scant architectural remains have been recovered, several Hellenistic portrait-like heads have been found. Mersinaki has also yielded a number of inscribed objects, and particularly plaques (not statue bases though) relating directly to royal cult.[277] In that case, one has to remember how problematic the use of the term 'urban' and 'extra-urban' is in the case of Cyprus (ch. 2.4).

Further discussion on this issue will be made when attempting to bring together the conclusions from the landscapes and 'portraits' chapters. For the moment, however, something should be said to leave open the possibility that at least some limestone sculptures do represent the ruler—not necessarily the king as it will be established below—in a local version. From

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276 e.g. Cohen 1995, 23–31.
277 *SCE* 3: 621–623.

the perspective of the local population, such statuary could represent the accommodation of Hellenistic political power within Cypriot society in an acceptable form. While 'style' is used by archaeologists to write about the past, it should be remembered that for those past human actors living in the island's interior, there were also 'styles' "of making, of using, of knowing, and ever-changing contexts that these styles derived from and defined".[278] In this respect, presenting the ruler closer to the local traditional artistic and religious forms, beyond political ideological domination, might also be seen as the local population's subconscious 'resistance accommodation' and 'adaptation'.

The significant theory proposed by Smith suggests that the Hellenistic monarch did not develop systematic distribution of clearly defined or fixed portraits on the Roman imperial model, for technical, political and ideological reasons.[279] While politico-ideological reasons have run throughout the present discussion, particular reference should be made to issues of 'social technology'. Royal statues were contracted by *epistatai*, who arranged and oversaw their manufacture. The king, however, did not usually make his statues for the cities; instead, the cities were honouring the king for his favour. Some official types in bronze or marble, probably sent by Alexandria, could have been set up in the main Cypriot coastal urban centres and sanctuaries. However, in the majority of sanctuaries and probably administrative capitals, one should rather expect non-official types.[280] Similarly, in the urbanised centres, or in the rural sites, especially the inland ones, where the transfer of imports would be more difficult, and where people might have found themselves more tied to the local traditions, one should probably expect non-official limestone types.

While I acknowledge the more 'cosmopolitan' character of Hellenistic Cyprus' coastal cities, I would be cautious regarding the fine separation between coastal and inland sanctuaries, or marble/bronze and limestone traditions, in relation to the dedication of the royal image or generally of portraiture itself, especially when it comes to de/un-contextualised inland urbanised centres such as Idalion or Golgoi. In this context one should remember that at the Apollo sanctuary at Idalion, where a great number of limestone 'portraits' have been found, there is ample evidence for the incorporation of Ptolemaic cult, particularly that of Arsinoe *Philadelphus*.[281] Such

278 Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 3.
279 Smith 1988, 27–31.
280 Smith 1988, 28.
281 Masson 1968, 401.

a categorical idea regarding royal portraiture made exclusively in marble or bronze, might ignore local contexts and population, and might well be coloured by the modern perceptions discussed earlier, and also by the patterning of Cypriot archaeology on the model of classical Greek archaeology and the 'peripheralisation'[282] of objects. Furthermore, it should be stressed that during the early Roman period, the Cypriot sculptors produced fine limestone portraiture.[283] Instead of separating Roman Cypriot limestone portraiture from the Hellenistic votive tradition, materialisation of ideologies allows us to approach them in terms of artistic and cultural developments and interaction.

If one accepts that the royal image in a Cypriot context, similar to the case of Egypt, could have also followed the native tradition, some more technological considerations should be brought into discussion. One needs to accept the possibility that the royal image in Cyprus might not have been restricted only to bronze or marble statues. Local sculptors would possibly face particular problems in those techniques. These remarks are in keeping with Smith's theory, that a good quality of non-type idealised portraits, (i.e. made by sculptors without reference to a particular model) should be expected outside Egypt.[284] The Cypriot sculptors, who never saw the kings, working in local limestone and with strong local sculpting traditions, would obviously confront significant difficulties in their possible efforts to produce true portraiture. Of course, they had some models in mind, through the coinage and the official types set in the administrative centres and major sanctuaries. Craft manufacture provides a crucial lens with which to identify human cultural behaviour and track social interaction, transmission and transformation of culture in the context of the changing dimensions of social power.[285] By studying technological processes rather than simply types or styles, one could identify imported or adopted traits related to mechanisms of transmissions and transformation.[286] Far from separating action into cognitive and technical domains, unconscious habitual actions of how one has learned to make and perceive things should be considered.[287]

Beyond the civic cults it is interesting to note that some dedications are directly connected to the official Ptolemaic cult. A well organised priest-

282 Conkey 1990, 7.
283 Connelly 1988, 9–10.
284 Smith 1988, 30.
285 Levy 2005, xi.
286 Levy 2005, xi.
287 Gamble 2004, 113–114.

hood seems to have formed the link between the kings and the public. Already under *Philadelphus* there was a priest of Ptolemy I in Lapethos.[288] Just to mention a few examples, I will start with the statue base of Artemo, daughter of Cyprus' *Strategos* Seleukos, who held the priesthood of Cleopatra *Thea Euergetes* and was the eponymous priestess of Arsinoe *Philopator* in the years 141–115 BC; the inscription has been attributed to Nea Paphos.[289] Similarly, the statue base of Melankomas son of Philodamos, priest of the *Theoi Euergetai* was found in Kition.[290] In the same city, the statue base of Eirene, daughter of the *Strategos* Ptolemaios, who was the *Archiereus* of the cult of Artemis, king Ptolemy and the other gods, was set up by her son Andromachos, *diadochos* and *grammateus* of the forces on Cyprus.[291] Eirene was the priestess of Arsinoe *Philopator* for a certain number of years from 203 BC up to 174/3 BC. Even if the exact organisation of the ruler cult in Cyprus remains insufficiently known[292] this inscription confirms that the *Strategos* of Cyprus took charge of all the cults on the island.[293]

At this point, an important statement should be made, which could bridge the gaps between Ptolemaic power:local population and Hellenistic artistic *koine*:local artistic production. It should be stressed that when using the term ruler in the case of Ptolemaic Cyprus, as in any other possession, one should not refer only to the Ptolemaic royal family, but primarily to their high officials on the island. Recent studies have shown that the role of the *Strategoi* and their families and attendants was in fact much more important than previously thought, and therefore, more emphasis should be attributed to them by scholarship.[294] It was these persons in fact which the local population had to 'face everyday' and 'live with'.

The majority of sculptures, as attested from the epigraphic evidence, were dedicated to them on behalf of the Cypriot population and the Ptolemaic correspondents. If the Palaipaphos sanctuary, one of the main—if not the main—sacred areas of politico-religious ideological investment during the Hellenistic period is taken as a case-study, the above statement is immediately justified. The number of inscriptions associated with Ptolemaic attendant statues and Hellenistic elites is much greater than those

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288 Hirschfeld 1996, 184.
289 Młynarczyk 1990, 158, no. 10.
290 Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1968, nos 9, 10, 20.
291 *SEG* 30 (1980), no. 1615.
292 Młynarczyk 1990, 149; Anastassiades 2001a.
293 Mitford 1957, 168.
294 Marquaille 2001, 317–325; Marquaille-Telliez 2008.

associated with the Ptolemies themselves (Appendix 2: chart 1). Images of humans receiving honours similar to the kings by various individuals and the cities as demonstrations of gratitude were seemingly very common in Cypriot major sanctuaries and cities. Potter is right in keeping the 'benefactor cult' distinct from the 'ruler cult', the latter being an extension of the former, which was already extant in various local contexts.[295]

As already established, in the late third/early second century BC the *Strategos* of Cyprus also received the title of *Archiereus* (High-Priest), responsible for all the cults on the island, including that of the Ptolemies. The social ideological implications of such a title for the main Ptolemaic official on the island, considering the function of a priest as a representative of the community to the divine, and vice versa, can easily be assumed. Religious leadership could even more easily form and benefit the state ideology. The acquisition of this title by the *Strategos* was firstly due to its relation to the promotion of the Ptolemaic cult, and secondly due to economic and administrative reasons, i.e. this office enabled the *Strategos* to enrich the royal treasury with revenues from the Cypriot sanctuaries.[296] Additionally, most of the inscriptions honouring the Ptolemies or their representatives on the island date from the second century BC onwards, i.e. in the Hellenistic II period; in accord with discussion in the previous chapters (1.1 and 2.4.2) it is evident that it is in that century that the ruler cult became more supervised and Ptolemaic power more visible.[297] The involvement of the *Strategos*' family in the promotion of the ruler cult and the formation of a hereditary class of priests also reached its climax in the second century BC.[298]

The fact that Ptolemaic political structures waited for about a century to assign such a title to a foreign official on the island could be associated with the contemporary unstable political and military events in the rest of the Mediterranean and the role that Cyprus acquires as the last important Ptolemaic possession after the definite loss of Coele-Syria in the beginning of the second century BC. It should also be stated that the institution of the role of *Arhiereus* in the island coincides chronologically with similar arrangements in the Seleucid court,[299] something which should probably be regarded amongst the spirit of dynastic competition within the Hellenistic kingship. Amongst practicalities imposing a more supervised Ptolemaic

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295 Potter 2003, 416–419.
296 Anastassiades 2007a, 166.
297 cf. Marquaille 2001, 54.
298 Marquaille 2001, 322.
299 Anastassiades 2007b.

administration on the island during the Hellenistic II period, additional strategies of ideological domination seem to be involved in that process. As seen in the Amathous section, according to epigraphic and textual evidence the dynasty of the *Kinyrades*, namely the city-kingdom *Basileis* of Palaipaphos, previously held the title of the *Archiereus*. No surviving sculptural pieces from those periods can be associated with specific *Basileis*. It has to be remembered, however, that generic sculptural pieces with strong probable royal and priestly insignia, such as *mitrai*, diadems ornamented with rosettes, double crowns with *uraei*, etc., have usually been called by scholars, 'princes' or 'dignitaries', 'priests' or even 'priest-kings' (figs 29, 32, 71–72, 96).[300] Enough reference has been made in this chapter to the active role of objects. Looking at material culture as active in this transitional process, one can develop an understanding of the political, economic and ideological values that might have been placed upon the sculptures. On the other hand, for the local population, the title of the High-Priest was not at all a foreign element, but one familiar to their individual culture and *mentalité*.

In this context, the role of the local and non-local upper societal strata in the control and production of Cypriot 'portraiture' should be considered. Following the discussion in the sacred landscapes chapter, any effort to separate the acts of the local from the non-local elites proves to be problematic (ch. 2.4.2). Additionally, the incorporation of local structures and elites into the Ptolemaic administration, particularly of the Hellenistic I period, should probably be addressed more seriously. The incorporation of local elites in the administration and priesthoods can be a well-organised practice of royal ideology for legitimation of power, but also a way of limiting resistance. This is a well attested practice on the part of the Ptolemies and one should probably consider that various offices or priesthoods in local cults were usually held by natives.[301] It is a basic understanding in anthropological studies that usually, amongst elite competition and conflict, elites of all backgrounds paradoxically "stick together in the face of commoners".[302] Additionally, the local elites are usually more open to adopting new modes of life, mores and fashions.

In the case of major urban coastal sanctuaries, such as Palaipaphos or Apollo *Hylates* at Kourion, where the epigraphic evidence is usually adequate, it is probably easier to see the primary role of non-local elites in the

300 e.g. Hermary 1989a, 44; Maier 1989b.
301 Młynarczyk 1990, 113–115; Mehl 2000, 698–700.
302 Terrenato 2005, 69.

production of power relationships and the reproduction of Ptolemaic ideology. Nonetheless, although the existing evidence is very limited, the involvement of local elites in power structures and the acquisition of court ranks are also attested.[303] Local elites had influences that are clearly visible in religious and cultural practices and public manifestations. One should probably see the existence of priests *Kinyrades* (i.e. the descendants of Kinyras) who were led by an *archos*, recalling the title used by Satrapas who dedicated the hypogeum of Apollo *Hylates*, probably related to the royal family of the city-kingdom of Paphos.[304] The survival of such a title should perhaps not be seen only in relation to the "conservatism of the Cypriot culture especially well attested in religious life"[305] but instead to this politico-religious ideological gaming. Additionally, another second century BC inscription from Palaipaphos refers to the awarding of privilege by the king to the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite as an indication of the patronage of local cults and probably in order to gain their support.[306]

Power relations were also played in inland centres, such as the case of Golgoi, Chytroi or Idalion, where the presence of Ptolemaic officials should be very extensive, as noted in the landscapes chapter, mainly through the epigraphic evidence. This phenomenon should probably be regarded in parallel to the cult of 'Arsinoe-Aphrodite' and Egyptian divinities, which although mainly popular in harbours and coastal cities, are not confined there as the evidence for the cult of Arsinoe, for example, attests. The great number of limestone portrait-like sculptures coming from inland sanctuaries associated with 'urbanised' centres, such as those of Golgoi or Idalion, should not therefore necessarily be regarded as merely local elite dedica-

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303 I refer to the involvement of the city-*Basileis* Nikokles and Nikokreon in the early Hellenistic period, for instance; or, the Cypriots Potamon and Onesandros who enjoyed offices of central importance in the administration and the religious life of the island. Onesandros was the director of the famous library at Alexandria and then priest of the Ptolemaic cult in Cyprus. Potamon after being a *hegetor* and a *gymnasiarchos* and belonging to the *koinon* of the artists of Dionysus, received from the king important state functions, namely those of *antistrategos* and *epi ton metallon*: see Mitford 1961a, 40–41; Młynarczyk 1990, 137; Mehl 2000, 691–692. As Michaelidou-Nicolaou (1976, 13) also argues, epigraphic evidence might allow a reasonable conjecture that the first Ptolemies tolerated the existence of minor 'Phoenician' rulers in the island. For the probable involvement of 'Phoenicians' in the administration of Ptolemaic Cyprus cf. Parmentier (1987) and chapter 2.4.1 of this monograph; for discussion and further bibliography see Mehl 2000, 701–705.

304 Młynarczyk 1990, 113.

305 Młynarczyk 1990, 113.

306 Mitford 1961a, 3, no. 2. For the importance of the Cypriot priesthood in Ptolemaic ideology see Anastassiades 2001a, 229.

tions or sponsorships. Instead of viewing the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures from the perspective of the 'royal style', a better approach would therefore be to regard them simply from the broader perspective of 'elite-style'. A combination of Cypriot 'portraiture' studies with issues addressed in the sacred landscapes chapter could illuminate complexities related to both the 'portrait' and sacred landscape studies, linked to the complex social identities of the elites.

It has been established how the sacred landscapes evolutionary model from *Basileis* to *Strategos* could generally fit with Connelly's and Smith's conclusions about Cypriot 'portraiture'. Examining the same material simply under the broader perspective of elite-style, the same landscapes model can fit well. With the evolution of social stratification from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, and the crystallisation of a unified administration in Hellenistic II period, new uses of symbolism and style were developed, which helped the materialisation of the interacting artistic and religious elements of the local tradition and the Hellenistic *koine*. In keeping with the discussion on the so-called 'regional styles' in sculpture—as in many other material categories—presented in the city-kingdoms sacred landscapes section, the political unification of the island seems to have led to a more homogeneous and unified sculptural elite-style as well.[307] Iconography and elite-styles become important in the legitimisation and naturalisation of power as has been established above. Next to a 'resistance accommodation and adaptation' theory, the control of esoteric knowledge, related to religious and ideological structures in a stratified society, is usually important for politico-economic control and communication of such a power to the non-elites. For instance, local styles, such as ethnic dress, usually continue to be important in defining community membership with implied rights to social order, or even to land.[308] On the other hand, portrait-like features inspired by the Hellenistic *koine* should be regarded as imitations of the fashionable royal style by the elites. As materialised ideology, portrait-like sculptures could communicate social ranks, strengthen vertical hierarchy and reinforce horizontal linkages with the rulers. The adaptation or the development of a 'shared style' by elites, selective in elements of religious and artistic iconography, along with technological considerations, offers a better explanatory framework.

[307] "Although each site … maintained its own local workshops and particular style, a certain homogeneity of type can be seen among the finds from all these areas": Connelly 1988, 112. This is not to suggest that the elite-style sculpture of the city-kingdoms period was not homogeneous. However, 'regional styles' can more easily be recognised.

[308] Earle 1990, 75.

The dedication of portrait-like limestone images should therefore be seen in relation to the proposed transition from 'full' to 'half-full' and later, by the Roman period, 'half-empty' sacred landscapes (Appendix 1: chart 1), and also by the proposed more unified religious system crystallised in the Hellenistic II period. The study of the sacred landscapes in relation to the portrait-like sculptures offers complementary results. Through various complex processes, related to social memory, power relations and land claims discussed in the landscapes chapter, the elites had to communicate and manifest their status. Portrait-like images could be a good means of displaying symbolic power, and could work as *ars memoriae*, enduring 'memorial heritage' which drew on explicitly material mnemonic techniques.[309]

As memory and power relationships from *Basileis* to *Strategos* were changing, extra-urban sanctuaries were losing significance. Therefore, by the first/second century AD at the latest, when a more unified and centralised politico-religious system seems to have been consolidated, the tradition of dedicating limestone portrait-like sculptures in sanctuaries also eventually dies out, along with the majority of the long-standing extra-urban sanctuaries. The elimination of memory related to regional political identities had an impact on the production of limestone 'portraits'. After the early Roman period, we find hardly any limestone 'portraits' in a Cypriot sanctuary; they all belong to the funerary sphere.[310] The cessation of demand for limestone sculptures by the second half of the second century AD at the latest, could be regarded in relation to this general complex process of remodelling the traditional Cypriot culture according to 'more hellenised' and more unifying modes, and should be emphasised.[311] Political, social and religious group identities, elite and non-elites, as well as religious modes had already been seriously transformed and altered by the Roman period. The exact processes of these phenomena cannot be grasped. However, by employing a range of social theory the complexity of such processes can be approached.

If one focuses on the case studies of Connelly, the diversity of the phenomenon can be exemplified: while the sanctuary of Voni is abandoned at the transition from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, Idalion, Golgoi and Arsos show continuity within the Roman period.[312] The very latest pieces in

309 Alcock 2002, 21–22.
310 Connelly 1988, 9; Senff 1989, 189.
311 Senff 1989, 190.
312 Connelly 1988, 115–116.

the corpus show developments with certain affinities both with Roman Republican portraiture and what has been called 'Augustan classicism'.[313] As established in the landscapes chapter, by the Roman period the political emphasis was mainly on urban or peri-urban, 'high-status' sanctuaries. The main sacred spaces of Salamis, Amathous, Kourion and Paphos, for instance, had already acquired a Greek-style temple with a podium, and the practice of cult should by then have been seriously transformed. With the political unification of the island, and the proposed more unified religious system, central extra-urban sanctuaries were losing political significance and gradually died out. It seems that the limestone votive tradition, gradually, also died out with them. Major 'high-status' sanctuaries, like the Palaipaphos one, as well as spaces at the core of the urban centre, such as Salamis, where the archaeological visibility is clearer, received honorific statues, usually made of bronze or marble. Nonetheless, already by the era of the city-kingdoms, the votive limestone statues were primarily confined to the inland, central, extra-urban sanctuaries, probably because of access to limestone quarries, but also for politico-ideological reasons, as analysed in the landscapes chapter.

Nonetheless, I would be reluctant to regard the continuation of local artistic and religious elements in Cypriot sculptural tradition simply under the concepts of cultural and religious 'conservatism', as it has usually been characterised.[314] Specific artistic and religious traditions allowed the Cypriot votive statue to survive long after it had lost popularity in mainland and western Greece, because it had its origin to a different, indigenous tradition. The function and origin of the Cypriot life-size statues were not identical with that of the mainland Greek equivalents, which were usually set up not only in sanctuaries, but also as grave markers and in public squares. In that sense, the opinion that the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures may be considered as the last descendants of the Cypro-Archaic kouroi and korai, keeping alive a tradition of worship that apparently lost its strength in Greece during the early Classical period,[315] finds little support. The Cypriot tradition of dedicating monumental sculpture had a different origin and development, which, as explained before, served indigenous ideologies and religious practices. Additionally, continuity of such traditions should not necessarily be interpreted in the negative sense of stagnation or cultural

313 Connelly 1988, 116.
314 Connelly 1988, 111; 1989, 17; Vanderstar 1995, 89.
315 Connelly 1988, 5.

passivity.[316] Instead, this continuity can better be understood as materialised aspects of Cypriot cultural dynamics, 'resistance' and identity, rather than as passive and simplistic elements of island or periphery 'conservatism'. Just because from a modern perspective one would expect island communities to be 'conservative' this does not mean that ancient islanders were not actively creating their roles and their inhabited worlds. Such an understanding could be placed alongside the continuing scribal traditions discussed primarily in relation to the Kafizin sanctuary (ch. 1.2).

Summarising the discussion of the last section, materialisation of ideologies should be seen from a phenomenological perspective as a process which creates a shared political culture. Cypriot 'portraiture' could be placed within the Hellenistic 'ideational landscapes' in order to provide an insight into ideological structures of power. In this sense, elite-style limestone sculptures would work both as human relationship boundaries and as human relationship chains. Taking into account the methodological limitations and particularly the danger of projecting modern accounts about 'portraiture' onto ancient contexts, such a perspective is the most helpful path for approaching the Cypriot 'portraits' in terms of social archaeology. Trying to re-experience firstly Cypriot sacred landscape in its holistic sense, secondly the Cypriot sanctuary as a place, and thirdly the effect of portrait-like sculptures on the embodied human agents, will prove to be a useful approach.

An engagement with ancient embodied people, elites and non-elites and their movement into landscape could firstly be ventured. Major urban and usually coastal sanctuaries, such as that of Palaipaphos, would have been accessible to all the societal levels and therefore good places for the rulers to actively present their politico-religious ideologies. The role of Hellenistic urban organisations such as the garrison, the gymnasium and the various *koina* in the promotion of Ptolemaic cult and ideology should be considered. The royal sculpted image, even if its exact form in a Cypriot context cannot be attested, was present, and this is undoubtedly confirmed by the extant epigraphic record. Whether all of these images were restrictively made of marble/bronze or with some, perhaps, made of limestone, and whether they were imports or of local production, remains unknown but these issues are of less importance to the approach taken here.

What is important is that the royal image existed in Cyprus, both in a sculptural and a coinage form, and that it was accessible to both Cypriots

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316 Gamble 2004, 188.

and non-Cypriots. In the major urban centres, the politico-ideological game was also played through the language of inscriptions. At this stage, one also needs to consider issues of education and/or 'resistance' in the use of the alphabetic script.[317] Would the Cypriot non-elites be able to read those inscriptions in the Greek alphabet? As established earlier in this monograph (ch. 3.3.5), the process of a stronger 'hellenisation' generally, and specifically in script, had already started from the era of the city-kingdoms. The role of urbanisation and urban organisations, such as the gymnasium, along with the digraphic inscriptions from Kafizin need to be considered. However, to the extra-urban or rural communities, the language of the image was probably stronger than script, especially in the early years of Ptolemaic rule. Imported marble and bronze sculptures introduced new types, styles and functions of statuary.[318] Elites imitated royal images not only for reasons of fashion, but also to establish social power relationships between them. However, they needed to communicate that power to the non-elites, and the best way to do so was probably to adapt local religious and artistic traditions. In that respect, non-elites can also become 'active', even in a subconscious way, in the construction of Ptolemaic power and ideology on the island.

One then needs to reconstruct the sanctuary as a place, positioning those portrait-like images within the traditional temenos architecture. The usually flattened, unfinished backs of many limestone statues are in keeping with Cesnola's plan of their placement, lined up in rows against the sanctuary walls.[319] This placement was reconfirmed by later excavations.[320] The majority of the statues, especially those around life-size or bigger, could not have stood without their plinths or propped up or plastered against a wall. Excavations have shown various arrangements.[321] The cases of Idalion, Voni, Frangissa have shown that rectangular plinths were cut to receive statues placed in the open-air yard, while at Golgoi and Kition statues were set against the temenos wall or against one another. Although not attested for portrait-like sculptures, at Tamassos a 'temple-boy' with a flat back has been found with traces of wall plaster, demonstrating that it was attached to the sanctuary wall. As already noted, many of those portrait-like images have been retrieved from votive deposits that include material from a wide chronological range. While this is not helpful when one tries to offer a

317 Shipley 2000, 269–270.
318 Connelly 1991, 96.
319 Cesnola 1877, 139.
320 Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893.
321 Connelly 1991, 96, note 15.

chronological development based on stratigraphy, it is useful to see how some of those politico-religious sculptures literally stood next to the past tradition, acting as 'memory galleries'. The case of Mersinaki sanctuary in fact, confirms that Cypro-Archaic, Cypro-Classical and Hellenistic votives, almost stood side-by-side.[322]

Among other categories of votives, portrait-like sculptures, especially the monumental ones, would have attracted the attention of the ancient viewer. A vivid picture of the hierarchical order would have been revealed by the arrangement of the statues close to each other in rows, with their fronts presented to the spectator and evoking social power by creating links between past and present. Senff produced models positioning statues found by Lang in Idalion in the appropriate places.[323] His interpretation may well be right.[324] The shaping of an embodied viewer as a product of social relations and cultural values has been established. Exploring the role of embodiment in shaping personal experience, the possible esoteric emotional implications and associations of such representations, in relation to prior experience and knowledge at both individual and social level, have also been analysed. Through comparison with the elements of the earlier and present cultural traditions, personal and group identities were created afresh. Recognising the role of knowledgeable subjects and active/animated objects and the fact that places and monuments cannot be divorced from social contexts, then not only the creation and transformation of styles, but also the very power of style itself can be better understood.

Based on the existing evidence, when it comes to evaluating Cypriot 'portraiture' in relation to social power, the focus should not be on the fine line between regional Cypriot portrait sculpture and their Alexandrian prototypes. Instead, as recently argued, the focus should be on the function of these pieces as politically charged images communicating authoritarian rule and ideals in a digestible format, to an audience which to some extent is culturally illiterate in regards to their foreign leadership.[325] I would expand on this idea, saying that the focus should actually be on a local audience which primarily interacts with local elites, or elites and officials living on the island, who need to communicate subtle political messages and relationships. While these elites maintain a local tradition, they also manage to

322 *SCE* 3: 397–398.
323 Senff 1989, 189–190; 1993, 1–15, pls 1–2.
324 Tatton-Brown 2002, 245.
325 Vasileiou 2009, 153.

spread royal power and ideology by copying the royal ideal images, along with their ideal connotations and associations. In this sense, the Cypriot portrait-like sculptures, being royals or non-royals, local or non-local elites, become concrete materialised blocks of Hellenistic power and ideology.

4.5. Concluding Remarks on Cypriot 'Portraiture'

The presence of Ptolemaic royal image on the island is generally accepted without question. This is attested not only by coins and seal impressions found on the island, but also by a great number of inscribed statue bases coming primarily from coastal city and sanctuary sites. The presence of marble and bronze royal statues cannot be doubted. The marble bases related to royal power, found, for instance, in the Palaipaphos sanctuary, should be expected to have held marble or bronze statues. Following Smith's theory, those of limestone, which are numerous, should be expected to have held bronze statues. This is also usually attested by the existing holes on some of the limestone bases,[326] made to hold the bronze statue. Additionally, although none of the Cypriot bases refers to the material of the statue, there are is a case of Hellenistic honorific decree referring directly to bronze statues. As established, however, the majority of the Palaipaphos statues represent Ptolemaic officials, and not kings.

The lost sculptures that accompanied the existing inscribed bases were definitely honorific statues of the ruler or the local ruling elites. In the case of inscribed statue bases associated with royalty, one is clearly dealing with honorific statues usually indicating civic royal cults. Inscriptions, however, supply strong information for the existence of official Ptolemaic cult in Cyprus. The existing limestone statues, where usually only the head survives, have simply been seen as votives based on the few surviving bodies of statues, which represent the donor holding a cultic object or a donation to the god (e.g. a lustral branch or a pyxis), and the generic features of the face.

Pressing the point too far to insist on the presence of surviving Cypriot royal portraiture would be unrealistic. However, based on the materialisation of ideologies theory and the analogous artistic and religious functions of sculpture in a local context, i.e. in Egypt, I would prefer to leave open the possibility that some surviving Cypriot limestone 'portraits' do represent the

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[326] Information given after personal communication with D. Michaelides, July 2007.

ruler. In addition, based on contextual archaeological evidence, where available, as in the case of Soloi, at least the marble sculptures found there could indeed represent queens, or even cult statues (figs 7, 22). Finally, as the foregoing theoretical discussion of 'portraiture' has shown, I would stress that ancient portraiture primarily remains a matter of ancient perception.

The insertion of 'hellenised' and portrait-like features into statues whose general format remained strongly Cypriot, suggests a controversial ideological move: not only the incorporation of Ptolemaic ideas (and ideals) into the Cypriot mentality, but also the 'accommodation' of Ptolemaic rule into a Cypriot context, i.e. the incorporation of Cypriot ideas (and ideals) into the Ptolemaic ideology. I have argued that we should probably put more emphasis on local structures when referring to Ptolemaic rulers, and particularly on the role of *Strategos* and his family/circles. Additionally, the involvement of local elites into Ptolemaic administration is likely more pronounced than what we usually believe. The development of the position of the *Strategos* is one of the most fascinating phenomena of Ptolemaic administration; as the third century BC went on, the *Strategoi* (together with their families/circles) gained more power.[327]

While I acknowledge the generic features of the Cypriot 'portraits', I would also stress the strong individuality and monumentality of some sculptures. Contextual technological considerations and cultural meanings should also be considered. In this connection, I would lastly acknowledge the cultural and political environment of fourth century BC Cyprus and its relation to mainland Greece, where ideas about individualism and portraiture were already strong. Inscriptions, like the fourth century BC ones from Amathous and probably Ledra identifying an individual, and the marble head found in the Amathousian main sanctuary (fig. 90) clearly illustrate that ideas of 'portraiture' were already in place before the arrival of the *Diadochoi*. In this respect, some Hellenistic portrait-like sculptures with very individualised features, like the colossal one from Voni (fig. 87), could be real portraits.

Considering the same material from two perspectives, one typological and one ideological, one can develop two different interpretations. The critical point is to understand what questions can be asked of the material and what information one hopes to extract. While the works of Smith and Connelly on Hellenistic portraiture remain fundamental, combining the different strengths of their work can lead to new insights. Building on the

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327 Bagnall and Derow 2004, 286.

detailed study on typology, stylistic dating, hands and workshops, as well as the religious function of Cypriot portrait-like sculptures emphasised by Connelly, and the kingship theory of Smith, Cypriot limestone sculptures prove to be a very useful methodological tool for the research questions raised at the beginning of this monograph. Artistic production and religion are co-dependent and each attempts to dominate the other.

If the focus of enquiry is moved from issues of royalty, identification, true portraiture and absolute dating to more general issues of social power and long-term cultural meanings, the study of portrait-like sculptures can greatly contribute to an appreciation of social aspects and social relations of the period. Under the concept of social interaction, materialisation of ideologies brings together rather than separates 'urban' from 'extra-urban' sacred space, as well as the various technological/geographical sculptural traditions. Additionally, the dichotomy between style and function can be bridged, or simply side-stepped, if through habitual processes one tries to understand how the material and the symbolic are fused rather than analytically separated.

Keeping up with Stanwick's work on Egyptian Hellenistic sculpture, in a similar way, the meaning of Cypriot portrait-like sculpture is also deeply rooted in a religious and ritual context, and not simply in the artistic process; interpreting it, therefore, we needs a balanced approach considering ancient ideas and modern conceptions.[328] In this sense, both the lost bronze/marble portraits, securely attested by the epigraphic record, and the votive limestone sculptures examined above, can be characterised as elements of 'politico-religious art', illustrating not only Ptolemaic fashions, but also politico-religious pedagogy, agenda and ideology. In this way the materialisation of ideologies theory also bridges the differences between votive and honorific functions.

Addressing the portrait-like sculptures found in Cyprus from an ideological point of view, the most reasonable approach that could be adopted would be to regard them simply from the elite-style perspective. The more flexible and broader notion of elite-style 'portraiture' includes the upper strata of Cypriot society, locals and non-locals, as well as issues of perception and cultural consumption. It can offer neither any specific identifications, nor any secure royal associations in general. The Cypriot 'portrait' should thus be seen as a product of various politico-religious developments, as anthropomorphic statues incorporating aspects of human ideology and

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[328] Stanwick 2002, 92.

psychology. Combined with the theory and data previously presented in this work, such a perspective is most revealing of cultural meanings and associations related to power relationships, and the response of the Cypriot tradition to the Hellenistic artistic and religious *koine*.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Religion and Social Transformations from *Basileis* to *Strategos*

During the course of this monograph I have tried to integrate interpretation with the presentation of facts and data. The transitional stages have, of course, been perceived primarily as conceptual and then as chronological. On the one hand, in chapters 1 and 2, I attempted to treat the Cypriot case from *Basileis* to *Strategos* in an island-wide way, building at the same time a theoretical framework for approaching the complexity of cultural interaction, reception, and resistance that characterises the Cypro-Ptolemaic relations. On the other hand, chapters 3 and 4 attempted to arrange the material data from specific sites in a way that complements the previous arguments and provide opportunities to further test hypotheses formulated earlier. My aim here, in this final concluding chapter is to relocate the conclusions from all the previous chapters within a wider context and offer a more general discussion and interpretation for the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, and of the enrolment of Cyprus in the Hellenistic administrative system and *koine* through the evidence that has been provided by the archaeology of religion.

Moving from the broad concept of sacred landscapes to the study of cult at more specific and unitary loci, and finally to the study of one specific category of votive material, it is hoped that it has become clear by now that, in an Iron Age Cypriot context, the sacred cannot easily be distinguished from the secular as a discrete sphere of activity. Consequently, religious identities cannot easily be separated from other forms of social identities, such as status, ethnicity and gender. Cypriot Iron Age cult places were more than just simply places of worship and the distinction between sacred and secular might indeed be a modern gloss based on a very different western worldview. Religion is strongly implicated in contexts of cultural contact and social change, and up to a point can be 'transcultural', in the sense of allowing various transmissions and transformations within various existing practices and socio-political developments.

The first section summarises issues of power and ideology from *Basileis* to *Strategos* and the second one evaluates the concept of 'Hellenistic *koine*',

and redefines it in a local context. While the former section deals primarily with political and elite structures, keeping in line with the agency theory examined when 'setting the scene' for this monograph, the non-elites are included as active agents in the construction of ideology. It has been accepted that the archaeological record is, unavoidably, more evocative about political and elite agency, while non-elite individual agency is usually lost in general trends. Patterns of behaviour and values transmitted from generation to generation may change more slowly than patterns transmitted between peers,[1] and thus are more difficult to define. In this context, next to knowledge and ideas transferred by peers, inheritance of cultural traits, knowledge, ideas and information transferred directly along genealogical lines has to be considered. The second section, therefore, will also attempt to consider in a more inclusive way non-elite conditions of human life, 'anonymous' structures, including agents which create their inhabited worlds, consciously or unconsciously interacting with the existing social (political, cultural and geographical) structures. Thus, the separation between the two sections is completely artificial and made only for structural reasons. Then, an effort to 'bridge the gap' from *Basileis* to *Strategos* is attempted, perceiving a theory of social practice and *habitus* as a more prominent area of consideration, when questions related to transitional processes and social change are addressed in an Iron Age Cypriot context. Finally, this chapter will conclude by evaluating the contribution of this work and addressing the scope of new avenues of research that this project has opened up for Cypriot history and archaeology specifically, and for the Mediterranean in general.

5.2. Power, Religion and Ideology

The political change of Cyprus from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, resulting from military conquest and submission, might have been relatively rapid and dramatic. However, the creation of integrated Ptolemaic power structures was a longer-term and more complex process, more securely attested in the Hellenistic II period. Examining issues of social power from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, the central role of religion has been emphasised. The political elites through manipulations of sacred space and through associations with the divine seem to have managed legitimisation of their authority, usually in a non-

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[1] Clarke 2005d, 81–82.

confrontational way. Cypriot religion did not remain static and fixed from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, but was continually interacting with socio-political changes and was reshaping itself accordingly. In practice, in any society, the political, economic, cultural and ideological are not easily disentangled. However, different approaches and priorities may lead us to emphasise one over another. The analysis of the development of Cypriot sacred landscapes, the study of religion at the sites of Soloi and Amathous, and the review of Cypriot 'portraiture' have sought to establish the successful role of ideology in the development and maintenance of a stratified society, social order, transformation, reproduction and social change.

Placing the Cypriot sanctuaries within the landscapes of their own *longue durée*, from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period, the theory that the extra-urban sanctuaries played an important role in the political setting of the city-kingdoms has been reinforced. By the end of the Hellenistic, and more clearly by the Roman period, the political elites turned their attention to main urban or peri-urban 'higher-status' sanctuaries, and therefore many extra-urban sacred spaces lost their significance. The involvement of a 'unifying' politico-religious ideology, practiced by the Ptolemaic officials and the various organisations on the island, such as the gymnasia, garrisons, and the various *koina*, has been established. The royal cult, and especially that of Arsinoe *Philadelphus* in a local context, played a central role in that process, articulating social relationships related to economic and political ideology. Issues of social memory and the possible role of urbanisation have briefly been examined in relation to the sacred space. Under the Roman rule, the memories of the city-kingdoms as distinct political entities become even more blurred, something which probably gives structure to a more unified administrative imperial space and a more 'homogeneous' material culture.

The examination of the cult places of Soloi and Amathous has served as a window into the religious system of the Cypriots in relation to their political and cultural ideologies. The complexities often inherent in 'religious syncretisms' and practices have been presented, but this monograph has also admitted the difficulties faced in the recovery of such complexities through the material remains. What cannot be doubted, however, is that the change in political structures resulted in a process of change and variation within the existing religious systems. The royal families and the administrative officers, creating direct or indirect associations with the divine, achieved access to this system of meanings, and were thus usually able to communicate their power to the population in non-confrontational, acceptable symbolic forms. By understanding the importance of symbolism within its historical context it has therefore been shown that 'religious art' was a

vehicle for expressing political identities. More than just revealing the intersection of religious and secular spheres of activity, I have tried to keep in line with Insoll's perspective of religion (ch. 1.6), and stress the potential role of ancient religion as a fundamentally structuring element for shaping mindsets and life itself. I have therefore discussed how religion, in a Cypriot context, evokes powerful emotions. As a result, it can have a great impact on people's psyche, and is therefore able to create prescribed norms, which could usually remain largely unquestioned. In this respect, forceful declarations of power and claims of legitimacy are embedded in an eclectic artistic, architectural and iconographic vocabulary that draws on external—i.e. both Near Eastern and Greek—political traditions, but locally communicated and transformed. The local *Basileis*, as well as the Ptolemies and their attendants on the island, built their prestige and authority primarily on the basis of religious sentiment.

Finally, the review of Cypriot Hellenistic 'portraiture', either through the medium of the inscribed bases once bearing royal and elite marble/bronze statues, or through the limestone portrait-like images, offers direct insights into materialised aspects of Cypriot identity and Hellenistic power and ideology. The study of the inscribed statue bases has more clearly addressed issues related to the Ptolemaic royal cult in Cyprus and to articulations of social relationships. In the study of the surviving limestone 'portraits', however, under the broader perspective of elite-style sculpture, I have moved the focus of enquiry from issues of royalty, identification, true portraiture and absolute dating to the wider issues of social power, in order to reveal long-term cultural meanings and associations related to power relationships. I have done this firstly, by linking these limestone statues with the previous sculptural tradition—some of which were most probably associated with the city-kingdom *Basileis*—and secondly, by drawing on a range of social theory related to the conclusions from the landscapes and case studies chapters. Finally, the need to turn more emphatically to local administrative structures and the role of the *Strategos*, his family and his circle, when dealing with issues of power and ideology in the case of Cyprus has been emphasised.

5.3. From Cypriot to Hellenistic *Koine*: 'Material Homogeneity' and 'Cultural Identities'

The degree of 'material homogeneity' throughout the city-kingdoms period has directly or indirectly been approached in all three main parts of this

work. In the sacred landscapes, through the study of the so-called 'regional styles', in the case studies—particularly in the Amathous section—through the question of a shared cultural system in the various city-kingdoms, and in the 'portraits' chapter through indications of the development of a more unified artistic production during the Hellenistic period. Some degree of 'heterogeneity' among the various city-kingdoms definitely existed. One should acknowledge the social complexity of the issue, created by geographical/technological considerations and even political dispositions, and allow for stylistic variation within each city-kingdom. Behavioural choices, such as distinct regional patterns in the burial records, for instance, can be regional or even site-specific, but still within a framework of 'homogeneous' cultural style.

From an archaeological point of view, any attempt to isolate an 'Eteo-Cypriot', 'Greek-Cypriot' or 'Cypro-Phoenician' set of material culture has failed, as has any attempt to clearly separate an Amathousian, Salaminian, Kitian etc. set of material culture and social practices. The importance of 'regional styles' has been presented, not in order to deny their existence, but instead in order to explore what they signify. If one detaches 'regional styles' from ethnicities or absolute political boundaries, a shift to a better understanding of the material and its complexities can be achieved. I have examined how, by enriching the way of looking at 'style', one can achieve a better way of understanding the material and its complexities, and appreciate people's lives as experience, related to socio-political and economic influences and developments created through multiple intersecting layers. Issues of both ancient and modern cognition and perception should be borne in mind.

Furthermore, one needs to consider issues of 'micro-style' as well as 'macro-style', with the local Iron Age Cypriot character at its core. The cultural unity of the city-kingdoms seems to rely on a multi-layered composition of regional variability created by inter/multi-regional internal and external influences. Issues of 'ambivalent identities' and the complexity of exchange within zones of contact have been addressed. A shared political and cultural system—and apart from multilingualism which should most probably be regarded as part of Iron Age Cypriot social identity—cannot be doubted, at least by the time of the consolidation of the city-kingdoms. In other words, as illustrated in Iacovou's pioneer work, when dealing with pre-Hellenistic Cyprus, one should be prepared to confront three languages but, in general terms, only one 'homogeneous' culture. This conclusion allows for a general interpretation of the involvement of the island in the so-called Hellenistic cultural *koine*.

A major change in the population of the island occurred during the Hellenistic period as a result of the introduction of the Ptolemaic armies, mercenaries of many nationalities, immigrants etc., bringing with them various modes of life, artistic styles and cultural ideas. It is beyond question that Cyprus participated in this Hellenistic Mediterranean 'poly-culture'. The Hellenistic *koine* in a local context can better be understood through various transmissions and transformations of culture, usually directed by the mutual interplay between the local and the Hellenistic traditions. Additionally, it has to be kept in mind that although the degree of 'material homogeneity' could be 'quantified' (by ticking criteria boxes), the adoption of cultural traits, and perhaps some of the most telling ones, can be found in more obscure aspects of material culture, e.g. the motor habits in technological and functional domains. It should therefore be considered whether one is dealing with a shared material culture in terms of emulation or primarily a result of internalised transformations. In this view, the case of Cyprus has reconfirmed that each Mediterranean region provides local variation and differentiation established by its own particular response to the Hellenistic *koine*; paradoxically, 'material homogeneity' encompasses 'heterogeneity', which in a way is the 'momentum' of this Mediterranean 'poly-culture'.

The main impetus for a Hellenistic cultural *koine* can easily be pinpointed. In archaeological terms, however, apart from administrative purposes and politico-religious ideologies, a relative Mediterranean 'cultural uniformity' happens only after multiple medium-term processes, which are as much exogenous, as endogenous. The pre-existing 'hellenising' environment—perhaps primarily for political and economic reasons—of the city-kingdoms' *Basileis* have to be considered alongside issues of Ptolemaic power and ideology. By the Hellenistic II period, a more unified cultural and religious system which is in relative conformity with the rest of the Mediterranean, can be recognised more clearly. One could, thus, suggest that 'everything changed' by the late Hellenistic period. However, at the same time, considering that the majority of artistic and religious forms were present already in the city-kingdoms period, and that the various transformations happened within the island, it could easily be said also that 'nothing changed'. The truth lies somewhere in-between.

This more unified cultural *koine* should have had a socio-psychological effect on the Cypriots of previously different political identities. Human beings are inherently space and time bounded. To bring phenomenological perspectives into the discussion, habitual experiences and ancient perceptions should be considered. "To perceive synesthetically is to be actively pas-

sive; it is to be absorptive yet constitutive, both at once".[2] With the political transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, a cultural 'homogeneity', both within as well as outside the island, was felt more strongly. Consequently, people, through various medium-term processes of time, should have also begun to feel part of a larger entity on one hand, and a closer affinity with other cultures on the other. The inclination, therefore, was not purely politically motivated or suddenly caused by short-term events, but was also articulated through contacts and ideology, both socially gradual and 'organic'. In this respect, Cypriot identity did not undergo a simple change from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, but experienced longer-term and more profound transformations. In keeping with Iacovou's discussion, this identity was neither directly "related to Classical Athens nor to Hellenistic Alexandria. It was an exclusively Cypriot identity—one that is very much alive and well to this day".[3]

5.4. From Segmentation to Unification: 'Bridging the Gap'

The main stimulus for this work has been to demonstrate through the Cypriot archaeology of religion how the political transition from segmented administration by many Cypriot *Basileis* to the unitary island-wide government by a foreign Ptolemaic correspondent, the *Strategos*, affected the socio-cultural infrastructure, the *mentalité*, of the island. It has clearly been established that the crystallisation of political unification in Hellenistic II period—in other words the passing from many political identities to one—established by a series of short-term political events, also produced a more coherent linguistic, artistic, religious and therefore cultural unification through various medium and long-term processes related to geo-history, administrative patterns, politico-religious ideologies, family structures, human interaction, worldviews, economic and demographic cycles, and technologies. At the same time, a stronger cultural unification contributed to the success of the Hellenistic unitary political system. The Cypriot evidence has further justified Ma's suggestion, explained in more detail in chapter 1, that the diversity of roles played by the kings and the ruling elites reinforced a unitary ideology and took on particular meanings within a system of power. In this respect, the combination of the local with broader

[2] Casey 1996, 18.
[3] Iacovou 2006a, 58.

scales and perspectives was not simply an ideology of domination, but also "the very exercise of kingship, and its deepest, most essential pleasure".[4]

The central role of religion in the legitimation of power is well recognised. Additionally, this monograph has proven once again, in a Cypriot context, that the conventional distinction between religion and politics is not helpful when trying to understand ancient Mediterranean histories. Political unification, along with a combination of the Cypriot and Hellenistic *koine*, seems to have transformed attitudes towards the sacred, which manifested themselves in new material forms, new understandings of sacred space and a more 'secularised' divine power. Common participation in religious rituals in major 'high-status' sanctuaries and temples should have been central to the constitution of political space. The interaction of the local population with the increasingly organised politico-religious cults in the Hellenistic II period, led by urban aristocracies and by the various politico-religious organisations, seems to have played an important role in the creation of a unified and stable political space.

In general, Cyprus seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity during the Hellenistic period. For the island's population, Ptolemaic rule—after its establishment—should indeed have meant comparative peace, in contrast to the preceding centuries when Cyprus was continuously entangled in the disputes between external Mediterranean powers and those of the local *Basileis*. Nonetheless, a strongly supervised Ptolemaic administrative and ideological power, as well as strong elements of the Hellenistic cultural *koine*, appear quite late, i.e. after the end of the third century BC. This might imply the continuation of local administrative systems and the incorporation of local elites into administration during the Hellenistic I period, and/or could be explained by the unstable political situation in the rest of the Mediterranean and the importance that Cyprus acquired after the loss of Coile Syria by the Ptolemies, or purely due to a lack of evidence. Human systems, however, are more complex. Consideration of interacting external and internal processes related to ideology as well as medium-term forces and long-term developments can shed light on such complexities.

The 'gap' from *Basileis* to *Strategos* can be more effectively bridged after considering more closely a theory of social practice, primarily marshalled by Bourdieu, who managed to find a middle ground between accounts that emphasise medium and long-term social forces and accounts which focus upon political history and the acts of great individuals. There has first to

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[4] Ma 2003, 193.

be the will, from above, to impose change. At the same time, however, to better illustrate a 'bottom-up' direction of change, one should consider the desire, from below, to follow and emulate. Knowledge of the world and a capacity to plan and make decisions should be ascribed to individuals. Social actors, elites and non-elites, usually unconsciously and often intuitively, know how to go about everyday life. One firstly has to appreciate the experience of the body, which human beings live in and through. The concept of *habitus* refers to commonsense attitudes and dispositions that direct people in their everyday life. Much of the *habitus* is learned through socialisation, i.e. through experience, encounter, imitation and encouragement.[5] People's actions are based upon their commonsense knowledge of what is possible and appropriate, and therefore, power and knowledge are very closely bounded; in this view, "*habitus* is the site of interplay between people and social structures or constraints, with each person operating within their own sense of the possible".[6]

The concepts of continuities and ruptures have been discussed thoroughly when 'setting the scene' for this monograph, particularly in relation to the work of Collombier. It has become clear that in order to discuss continuity and discontinuity between two phases, the preceding regimes need to be studied in their own right, in order to avoid explanations where 'phase A is *a priori* only the foil of B'.[7] Any attempt to comprehend the realities of human nature and the world itself is based upon previous local traditions, knowledge and experience, both at individual and social level. Time and history, diachronic media of culture, should be seen as so deeply inscribed in embodied human beings and places as to be inseparable from them.[8] Trying to appreciate the implications and consequences of Ptolemaic power on the island, one first needs to research the preceding city-kingdoms' interior environment, which only recently has become more comprehensible both in political and cultural terms. Additionally, not only elite structures, but also the lower echelons of society need to be considered. It has become clear that social change occurs through an influx of the new but also through an interaction of the new and old traditions, both on the part of the local and the non-local population. Interaction between internal and external powers, everyday routines, social negotiations and world re-interpretations,

[5] Shanks 2005, 241.
[6] Shanks 2005, 241.
[7] cf. Briant 1982, 8; Alcock 1994a, 174.
[8] Casey 1996, 44.

should be considered, to allow for intermediaries and intermediate processes, diversity and multi-temporality.

People have the potential for 'creative identities', which are dependent on a wide range of different selective pressures. 'Creative identity', thus, allows for variety in social practice. In keeping with Broodbank's perception of 'islandscapes' it is worth considering that loss of cultural traits, deviation, or retention of archaisms, are usual strategies through which island identities are created and sustained.[9] At the same time, one cannot literally argue for a uniform cultural identity on Cyprus or elsewhere, and the diversity of ways in which people, and particularly islanders, perceive land and material culture should be underlined. While groups of people—living mainly in coastal urban centres—are usually more willing to adapt to new conditions of life, there are also segments of population—mainly living in inland areas—which are 'forced' by necessity or desire to remain at the margin of 'mainstream culture'. If elite behaviour is diverse, then that of the non-elites, who comprise the majority, is even more so, based on their individual experiences, relations with and responses to local and 'imperial' authorities.

Encompassing in equal terms phases A and B, elites and non-elites, locals and foreigners, natural cultural evolution and purposeful engineering, overlapping social relationships and networks, internal and external phenomena, insularities and connectivities, and being acquainted with recent theoretical trends, this monograph has attempted to offer a fresh approach to the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, and particularly a different vision of the Cypriot Hellenistic period itself, regarding it primarily as part of an individual long-term trajectory. One should therefore perceive ancient 'imperialism' as different from modern 'colonialism' and move beyond biased 'stale'—usually useful but often difficult to identify in the archaeological record—dichotomies, such as elites:non-elites, locals:foreigners, public:private, etc., recognising that consideration of local historical cultural conditions, along with institutional structures and political economy can produce diverse and complex social trajectories.

Keeping in mind Alcock's methodological considerations about Hellenistic social change,[10] the study of the Cypriot archaeology of religion through the medium of sacred landscapes, the analysis of cult at specific sites and of votive sculptures, has not revealed a static picture from *Basileis* to *Strate-*

9 Broodbank 2000b, 20.
10 Alcock 1994a, 187–189.

gos. The Hellenistic conditions are hardly ever identical to those of the city-kingdoms. Cultural and religious transformations may also fundamentally transform people's relationships with their past. Continuity then, if defined strictly as the absence of change, is clearly not applicable; yet discontinuity, if defined as a sudden break and an abandonment of previous modes of operation, even in purely political terms—if one considers the involvement of Nikokreon, Nikokles and Menelaus in the early Hellenistic period—is clearly not applicable either. To separate patterns of change and continuity, especially when it comes to religious developments, would effectively distort the evidence. By emphasising elements of continuity one might downplay the significance of change and, conversely, by emphasising elements of change one might downplay continuity. Continuities co-existed with rupture. Social change happened only after a process of dialogue, exchange and negotiation with the Ptolemaic power structures.[11]

The 'divisions' between periods are not those in the history books. As emphasised in the introduction a 'more human', 'more personal' time is needed when one address the research questions of this project. While historians and archaeologists try to fit typologies and material entities into fixed historical events, one needs to realise that it usually takes "a long time for military and political events to have an effect on the way that people make things, and therefore, we may infer, on the behaviors that lie behind the production and use of those things".[12] The legacy of the preceding regimes and social modes remains clearly reflected to a great extent and therefore, the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* can only be fully understood through slower processes of social interaction.

5.5. New Avenues for Cypriot and Mediterranean Archaeology

This work, because of its synthetic nature and the broad material spectrum that religion encompasses, has unavoidably dealt with a wide range of evidence, approaches, geographic areas and historical periods. I have attempted to bring together all the available sources of evidence, i.e. topography, various material types and their iconography, textual evidence and inscriptions, relating them with the full range of existing archaeological

11 cf. Briant 1982; Alcock 1994a.
12 Rotroff 2006, 141.

theory. After summarising the main points of the present contribution and evaluating the resulting implications for the study of the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos* and the interaction of social power and the archaeology of religion, I finally wish to stress the scope for new avenues that have opened up for Cypriot archaeology, and also for Mediterranean archaeology in general.

More systematic contextual work on specific prominent areas of the Cypriot archaeological record, such as tombs, epigraphy, topography of cities, pottery, and sculpture will help to further clarify the picture, and in particular different administrative modes between the Hellenistic I and II periods. If future studies categorise indicators of various cultural factors by bringing to the forefront similar issues of social power, then a better understanding of the transition and the Cypriot Hellenistic period can be achieved. Additionally, it is hoped that new possibilities for more synthetic studies have been opened. For instance, questions about processes of Cypriot urbanisation from the era of the city-kingdoms to the Hellenistic period and their interaction with sacred space have been posed. Survey studies could further illuminate those issues focusing on demographic elements and correlations between urban/extra-urban habitation and forms/levels of religious activity. Ancient historians and archaeologists could further illuminate the interaction between patterns of settlement, local administration and the modes of production on the land and in crafts and trades.[13] This work, by enriching the way of looking at style, has also demonstrated the further potential of sculpture, especially when combined with landscape studies. Another area deserving fuller exploration and concentration on the evidence, mainly from an epigraphic and architectural point of view, is the study of Cypriot ritual and cults and their value within a socio-political arena. The study of terracotta figurines and sculptures in relation to social and religious change has proved to be a very prominent area of study. Detailed analysis of the Cypriot sacred architecture and epigraphic evidence, which will consider social theory, and focus on issues related to ritual change, the upkeep of temples, cult titles, holding priesthoods, rituals, festivals and its finance, can further illuminate not only issues of the transition, but also of the relation between social power and the Cypriot archaeology of religion. Finally, similar research questions and methodology could be addressed in a synthetic study on social power and burial

[13] Davies 1984, 297.

archaeology from *Basileis* to *Strategos*; this inevitably includes religion, but also landscape and material evidence that reflect long-term changes in cultural traits. Burial archaeology could probably further illuminate and perhaps separate more clearly—than the more general trait of the archaeology of religion—issues related to ethnic identities (i.e. local population versus newcomers), the study of personal and group space, but also to elite and non-elite space.

In a pre-Hellenistic period, Cyprus was part of the Assyrian and then the Achaemenid states, but although paying tributes they never lost their political status and independence. As discussed in chapter 1, the Achaemenids had no interest in 'persianisation', in the sense in which one speaks of 'romanisation'. Hellenistic monarchies were deeply influenced by Achaemenid imperial strategies. It has been discussed how problematic it can be when one tries to identify active Persian practice on the island. It has also been discussed how Assyrian, Egyptian or Persian modes of representation have been adopted into Cypriot politics and culture for various diplomatic and economic reasons. Nonetheless, a more in-depth look at possible Assyrian and Persian imperial strategies and the reaction of the local population during the city-kingdoms period might offer some interesting comparisons within the island and balance approaches to 'hellenisation', but also 'romanisation', which has been briefly touched upon in this work.

The Cypriot case has confirmed that the 'hellenisation' processes and its expressed perception of identities were variable and usually dependent on what preceded them; what emerges from the mixture between what was imported and was local 'properly', can be described either as a new 'hybrid' identity, or as an absolutely original reality; the truth is that this is simply a matter of perspective. Each area had its own dynamics, highly expressed through religion, and any transformation of culture should be examined considering these internal dynamics along with any external forces and impositions. Moving beyond the narrow field of Cypriot history and archaeology, therefore, it is hoped that the present work can also serve as a paradigm for the study of religion in relation to social power in other fields of archaeology. Particularly, it could serve as a paradigmatic case study for the enrolment of other areas of the Mediterranean into the political and cultural Hellenistic *oikoumene*.

When various categories of material evidence or other sources of evidence are seen in isolation one might reach different or very diverse conclusions. An interdisciplinary/ multidisciplinary research agenda, which attempts to grasp the totality of evidence, but at the same time acknowledges subjectivity, produces an innovative examination of the data, widens

and enriches our understanding of ancient society and allows for multiplicity and diversity. “Rather than striving for a single narrative … the current trend is towards variety”.[14] In our consideration of the existing evidence and meanings, a balance of approaches proves to be the most rewarding.

[14] Gamble 2004, 9.

EPILOGUE

Beside me was Onesilos
full of life,
a figure born of history and legend.
A strong and brave *Basileus*, he held
in his hand all that was left to him:
a shell
—his own skull—
full of bees.
For ten years Onesilos sent his bees
to sting us,
to awaken us,
to bring us a message.
Ten thousand bees did Onesilos send
and they all perished on our thick skin
without us feeling anything.
And when the stampede of barbarians reached Salamis,
Onesilos shook with rage and he could take no more.
He grabbed his skull and he shattered it over my head.
And I fell down dead
ignoble and miserable,
cursed by Onesilos.

(Mechanikos 1975, 19)

After this Antony feasted the Alexandrians, and in the assembly made Cleopatra and her children sit by his side; also in the course of his address to the people he commanded that she should be called Queen of Kings, and Ptolemy, whom they named Caesarion, King of Kings. And he then made a new distribution of provinces, giving them Egypt and Cyprus in addition.

(Dio Cassius, 49.41.1–2)

‘Playing the Endgame’: From *Strategos* to *Proconsul* and from ‘Detached Academia’ to a ‘Personalised Perspective’

Roman intervention on the island of Cyprus is attested already by the second century BC. Rome was acting as protector of the interests of the

Ptolemies, and so, in 168 BC, when Antiochus IV *Epiphanes* of Syria conquered Cyprus, it sent an embassy to the island and obliged him to withdraw. The antagonism among the members of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the nomination of Cyprus as an independent kingdom under those rivalries gradually opened the doors of Cyprus to the Romans.[1] At the end of the second century BC, Cyprus is included amongst the 'friends and allies of Rome'. A formal resolution of the Senate, dated around 100 BC, advises Cyprus not to harbour pirates in order to get Rome more involved in the control of Cyprus. The excuse was soon to be found in an incident with Cilician pirates, where Cyprus was accused of being a 'stronghold' of piracy. In 58 BC, the Roman tribune, Publius Claudius Pulcher, a partisan of Julius Caesar, carried out a law, implemented by Cato, which reduced the island to the state of a praetorian province at first attached to the province of Cilicia.[2]

In 48 BC, during the civil wars of the Roman Republic, Cyprus was returned to Ptolemaic rule by Julius Caesar, at first allegedly in favour of Arsinoe IV and Ptolemy XIII. The following year, after the birth of his son Caesarion by queen Cleopatra VII *Philopator*, he presented the island to his mistress and his son. After the battle of Philippi in 42 BC, Cyprus came under the control of Marcus Antonius, who consolidated Cleopatra's—by now his mistress—possession of it, as the passage of Dio Cassius cited above describes. Antonius and Cleopatra were to play the endgame of Ptolemaic rule on the island. In 31 BC, Octavian became the master of Alexandria. Cleopatra and Antonius committed suicide and Caesarion was murdered in the following year. Thus, Cyprus returned to Rome, and Cypriots were considered *dediticii*, i.e. people who had surrendered unconditionally and had no rights. Finally, in 22 BC, Octavian, now the Emperor Augustus, transferred the island to the rule of the Senate. Cyprus became a Senatorial province, administered by a *Proconsul*, a Roman senator who held the office for one year.[3]

Moving from the end of Ptolemaic rule in Cyprus to the 'endgame' of this project, I should go some years back, when I started working on this research as a dissertation topic. After stating briefly that "I am studying the transition from the Cypriot city-kingdoms to the Hellenistic period, through the archaeology of religion", I remember panicking at receiving the stereo-

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[1] Michaelides 1990a, 111; Mehl 2000, 646–658.

[2] Badian 1955.

[3] For the most recent account on the events and the historical sources related to the transition from *Strategos* to *Proconsul* see Potter 2000.

typical response "so, you are doing Cyprus in the fourth century BC" from various friends or colleagues! The adoption of different, Braudelian, non-linear conceptions of chronological frameworks, based on medium/long-term processes and land-use patterns, has shown that linear chronological divisions appear largely irrelevant when one wants to research questions of social change. Confirming Alcock's methodology in a Cypriot context, "it becomes awkward to speak of a unified 'Hellenistic' or 'Roman' period",[4] and this has naturally and clearly been supported by the Cypriot survey evidence, its relation to pottery analysis and burial patterns or shifts of cemeteries, for instance. The Cypro-Classical and early Hellenistic periods clearly 'belong together'. In the same way the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods if they are not seen in isolation, appear as part of one and the same *conjuncture*. Elements of social time, such as art-styles, monuments and landscapes can, thus, be better understood from the long-term perspective.

It is hoped that this monograph has proposed a new way of understanding the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, and has also added a new dimension to the study of Hellenistic Cyprus, connecting it more emphatically with its *longue durée*. 'The power of the past in the past' has been overtly emphasised. Consequently, and even bearing in mind analogies with modern Cypriot history, it could justifiably be said that the island of Cyprus has developed a successful internal model of adaptations, transmissions and transformations, which, in general terms, has usually allowed the survival of many cultural traits through time and always between empires.[5] The primary role of religion in making sure that some 'eternal beliefs' and attitudes were preserved, has been stressed. Neither simply a 'stubborn idiosyncrasy',[6] nor merely an 'island conservatism', this attitude can be seen as a complex habitual local response, which follows neither complete independence, nor complete integration with the outside world.

Trying to integrate 'traditional' and 'new' approaches, this project has aimed at opening up new possibilities for the understanding of the implications of social power within the domain of the Cypriot archaeology of religion, moving once more away from a merely descriptive analysis of Cypriot material culture and especially Cypriot sacred landscapes, and restoring issues of social action, interaction and ideology to the agenda of 'Classical

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[4] Alcock 1993, 218.

[5] The parallelism made by Vanderstar (1995, 87) regarding the role of *Strategos-Archiereus* and that of Makarios, the first president of the Republic of Cyprus, and also its Archbishop, is a very interesting one.

[6] Tatton-Brown 2000a, 342.

Cypriot archaeology'. It has clearly been established how issues of equality, interaction and negotiation can be investigated through the prism of social power, religion and ideology, reflecting the spectrum of the social system as a whole. Multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches are welcome, and indeed very helpful in that process.

I will conclude by drawing on a metaphor with the poem quoted in the beginning of this section: although one has to be aware of the work that has been done in areas of the Mediterranean with which Cyprus interacts, it seems that it is time to turn "to the long-term sustainable traditions of the geopolitical entity of Cyprus itself",[7] and only then try to apply core-periphery models from the Near East or the Aegean to the island. Analysing Cypriot culture primarily from the inside rather than in comparative terms has been proved to be a successful undertaking. The contemporary scholar has to feel the 'stings' sent by the 'ancient island', in order to better appreciate the transition from *Basileis* to *Strategos*, and also understand how the Alexandrian periphery might have played the role of a centre.[8]

[7] Iacovou 2002, 85.

[8] I refer to a chronological expansion of Iacovou's 'Cyprocentric' approach, presented analytically in the plenary lecture of the Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology workshop (POCA) held in Trinity College Dublin in 2005. Iacovou presented a paper under the title 'Let the "ancient island" speak: A Cyprocentric Approach to the History of the Cypriote Kingdoms', encouraging the new generation of Cypriot archaeologists to listen to the voice of the 'ancient island'. In a more recent publication, where she brings together the results of her attempts to introduce an island-specific methodology for the study of the emergence of state formation in ancient Cyprus, Iacovou even more clearly 'advocates Cyprocentricism': see Iacovou 2007a.

APPENDIX ONE

LANDSCAPES

These tables are to a great extent based on a catalogue of 206 sanctuary sites (or cult rooms/*cellae* in some instances) compiled by A. Ulbrich (2008). In her catalogue, Ulbrich has included the excavated sites, sites identified from published survey projects, sites from the Cyprus Survey Inventory of the Department of Antiquities and sites from the announcements of the Director in *BCH*. She also includes epigraphic and textual evidence that might reveal the existence of a sanctuary site. From a chronological point of view, she presents sites which date from the Cypro-Archaic to the Cypro-Classical period. Some of these sites begin in the Early Iron Age, or continue to function until the Hellenistic or Roman period. When she was able to examine the material personally or when published photographs were available, she checked the proposed chronology and the interpretation of the site as a sanctuary. If not, she had to adopt the proposals of published excavators and surveyors, and the Cyprus Survey Inventory (personal communication with A. Ulbrich, January 2007).

In the following tables, epigraphic or textual evidence from Ulbrich's catalogue has not been included, as it usually either relates to an actual site or it does not provide evidence for the locus of a sanctuary. Sites, such as the palatial sanctuaries at Amathous or Vouni, which in Ulbrich's catalogue appear as many sites based on the existence of many different rooms/*cellae*, have here been treated as a single site. In addition, sites such as Paphos-Agia Moni, Kato Paphos-Malloutena, Kellaki-Moutti Sinoas or Chytroi-Kephalovrysi (known only from epigraphic evidence), Larnakas Lapethou-Lacheropetra (an inscription carved on the rock) or Kato Paphos-Alonia tou Episkopou (a probable subterranean cult place where there are two inscriptions, but otherwise no further archaeological context) have not been included, as they do not offer any evidence for their life-span. Therefore, in this monograph, they have been treated as inscriptions or as elements for architectural and cultic analysis. Furthermore, sites of unclear dating in Ulbrich's catalogue (i.e. ID 14, 15, 17, 19; KI 9, 14, 16, 17; KOU 1; LE 4; PA 3, 8; SA 8, 26, 28, 29; SA-KA 6, 7, 8) or more recent excavation reports (i.e. Agios Philimon: see Raptou 2010, 23–25) have been excluded. Votive deposits close to other urban sanctuary sites that might relate with

them (i.e. AM 6, 7; ID 5; MA 4) have also been excluded. Sites very close to each other, such as Salamis-Campanopetra 1 and 2, Agia Irini-Palaeokastro 1 and 2 or Idalion-Aloupofournos and Idalion-Kaminia, have been treated as a single site. Additionally, sites with finds with problematic provenance or complicated historiography of research, such as those in the areas of Athienou-Golgoi and Arsos have also been treated as single sites. Finally, probable sanctuary sites recently identified either by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, or by foreign survey expeditions, but not yet publicised through conference presentations or reference in the *ARDAC* and *BCH* cannot be included in this database. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that the following catalogues are not exhaustive, but only representative for the statistical existence of sanctuaries through time. The very problematic cases in terms of chronology or life-span have been marked with a question-mark.

The purely Hellenistic and Roman sites have been traced by the author, either in the bibliography or by examining the Cyprus Survey Inventory. Due to problems of limited archaeological visibility and the pause of legal archaeological field research in Salamis after the 1974 Turkish invasion, we are not in a position to clarify the exact relation of the Zeus temple to the pre-existing sanctuary at the nearby Campanopetra area. The two areas, therefore, have been treated as a single site. For the sites of Agios Tychonas-Throumpovounos and Chantria-Grammata, I have been able to gather some information after personal communication with the surveyor, Dr E. Prokopiou. While the finds from Chantria-Grammata, in relation to the epigraphic evidence confirm the existence of a sanctuary at the site, at Agios Tychonas-Throumpovounos only one terracotta figurine has been found. As the surveyor suggests, this could be regarded as evidence of cult, but not necessarily as evidence of the existence of a sanctuary. With permission from the former Director of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, Dr P. Flourentzos and the various surveyors (H. Catling, A. Christodoulou, P. Flourentzos, S. Hadjisavvas, M. Loulloupis), the unpublished material from the Cyprus Survey Inventory has been examined with the help of Prof. D. Michaelides (University of Cyprus). The aim of the examination was twofold: firstly, to check the suggested chronologies, and secondly to examine on what kind of evidence (type and quantity) the site has been attributed to/or possibly to a sanctuary. Bearing in mind the problematic nature of survey assemblages and the problems of attributing a chronology or a sacred character to a site on account of the presence of figurines (ch. 2.3), based only on a few distinctive wares and fragmented terracottas and statuettes, the suggested chronologies have been found to be correct. With very few exceptions, such as Agia Napa-Tartsia, Morphou-Niketas, Kontea-Agios Mamas, Aloa-Paliokklesies,

where the nature of the finds (terracotta figurines and statuettes) and their numbers probably justify the existence of a sanctuary, the rest of the sites have been categorised as a probable sanctuary based on the existence of a very limited number of terracotta figurines or statuettes (sometimes only 1).

Table A-1 represents a catalogue of definite and possible sanctuary sites for the Cypro-Archaic period, Table A-2 for the Cypro-Classical, Table A-3 for the Hellenistic and Table A-4 for the Roman. Table A-5 brings together the life-span of sites from Cypro-Archaic to Hellenistic times and Chart 1 presents graphically the density of Cypriot sanctuaries from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period. The evidence for the Cypro-Geometric period represented in Chart 1 derives from Papantoniou (forthcoming).

Table A-1. Catalogue of definite and possible sanctuary sites for the Cypro-Archaic period.

No.	*Site*	*Source*
1.	Achna (near Xylotymbou)	Ulbrich 2008, 450
2.	Achna (south)	Ulbrich 2008, 447–448
3.	Achna (southeast)?	Ulbrich 2008, 448–449
4.	Achna-Farangas-Acheritou	Ulbrich 2008, 450–451
5.	Achna-Palaio Prastio	Ulbrich 2008, 449
6.	Achna-Panagia tis Trachias	Ulbrich 2008, 450
7.	Achna-Vrysoudi	Ulbrich 2008, 449
8.	Agia Irini-Alonia	Ulbrich 2008, 378
9.	Agia Irini-Palaeokastro	Ulbrich 2008, 377–378
10.	Agia Napa-Makronisos	Ulbrich 2008, 441–442
11.	Agia Varvara-Almyras	Ulbrich 2008, 330
12.	Agia Varvara-Poupraes or Pera Chorio/Kotsiatis-Koukourtis	Ulbrich 2008, 329–330
13.	Agia-Kebir, Tasli Kaya	Ulbrich 2008, 304–305
14.	Agios Dimitrianos-Skali	Ulbrich 2008, 286–287
15.	Agios Elias-Agios Tsianneri	Ulbrich 2008, 435–436
16.	Agios Iakovos-Dhima	Ulbrich 2008, 438
17.	Agios Therapon-Silidjes	Ulbrich 2008, 368–369
18.	Agios Tychonas-Doxamenes/Asvestoton	Ulbrich 2008, 279
19.	Agios Tychonas-Name?	Ulbrich 2008, 279–280
20.	Agirda-Abdi Kougousou	Ulbrich 2008, 335
21.	Agirda-Bostanlik (Yassi Belenk)	Ulbrich 2008, 335
22.	Aglantzia-Agia Marina	Ulbrich 2008, 384
23.	Alassa-Paliotaverna	Ulbrich 2008, 368
24.	Amathous ('palatial' sanctuaries)	Ulbrich 2008, 271–275
25.	Amathous-Acropolis	Ulbrich 2008, 268–267
26.	Amathous-Agios Tychonas/West Necropolis	Ulbrich 2008, 278–279
27.	Amathous-Vikles	Ulbrich 2008, 277–278
28.	Angastina-Alimindiri	Ulbrich 2008, 291

Table A-1. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
29.	Anogyra	Ulbrich 2008, 369
30.	Arsos	Ulbrich 2008, 305–308
31.	Athienou-Agios Photios	Ulbrich 2008, 297–301
32.	Athienou-Giorkous	Ulbrich 2008, 295–297
33.	Athienou-Malloura	Ulbrich 2008, 302–304
34.	Bogazi	Ulbrich 2008, 435
35.	Cape Dinaretum	Ulbrich 2008, 445
36.	Chelones	Ulbrich 2008, 445–446
37.	Chytroi-Katsourkas	Ulbrich 2008, 285–286
38.	Chytroi-Skali (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 288–289
39.	Davlos-Geroshinia	Ulbrich 2008, 440
40.	Dhrymou	Ulbrich 2008, 393
41.	Dikomo-Merra Oneisia	Ulbrich 2008, 335–336
42.	Enkomi	Ulbrich 2008, 428–429
43.	Enkomi (necropolis)	Ulbrich 2008, 429–430
44.	Fasouri	Ulbrich 2008, 368
45.	Filani-Petaloudia	Ulbrich 2008, 476
46.	Galini/Potamos tou Kampou-Laxia tis Shistis?	Ulbrich 2008, 456
47.	Gerani-Aronas	Ulbrich 2008, 436
48.	Geroskipou-Monagri	Ulbrich 2008, 409–410
49.	Gialia-Photies	Raptou 2010, 14–22
50.	Idalion-‘*Kourotrophos* Hill’	Ulbrich 2008, 321–322
51.	Idalion-Agios Georgios	Ulbrich 2008, 325
52.	Idalion-Aloupofournos	Ulbrich 2008, 325
53.	Idalion-Ambelleri	Ulbrich 2008, 312–314
54.	Idalion-Ambelleri (‘palace’ area)?	Ulbrich 2008, 315–316
55.	Idalion-Gialias	Ulbrich 2008, 322–323
56.	Idalion-Limpouraina	Ulbrich 2008, 326
57.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (lower)	Ulbrich 2008, 319–321
58.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 316–319
59.	Idalion (northeast)/Bamboula	Ulbrich 2008, 323–324
60.	Idalion-Petrara	Ulbrich 2008, 324
61.	Kakopetria-Agilades	Ulbrich 2008, 467
62.	Kalo Chorio/Klirou-Zithkionas	Ulbrich 2008, 476–477
63.	Kalograia-Lisies	Ulbrich 2008, 291
64.	Kalopsida	Ulbrich 2008, 431
65.	Karpasia-Agios Philon	Ulbrich 2008, 443–444
66.	Kazafani-Mines	Ulbrich 2008, 334–335
67.	Keryneia-Chrysochorafon	Ulbrich 2008, 333
68.	Keryneia-Regatikon	Ulbrich 2008, 334
69.	Kition-Bamboula	Ulbrich 2008, 345–348
70.	Kition-Kathari	Ulbrich 2008, 341–345
71.	Kochi	Ulbrich 2008, 354–355
72.	Korovia	Ulbrich 2008, 446

Table A-1. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
73.	Kouklia-Marcellos	Ulbrich 2008, 405–406
74.	Kouklia-Palaipaphos	Ulbrich 2008, 401–404
75.	Kourion (Apollo *Hylates*)	Ulbrich 2008, 365–367
76.	Kourion-At Meydan?	Ulbrich 2008, 364–365
77.	Krines	Ulbrich 2008, 430–431
78.	Lapethos-Drakontas	Ulbrich 2008, 374
79.	Lapethos-Kremmos tou Volou	Ulbrich 2008, 374
80.	Lapethos-Prostemenos	Ulbrich 2008, 373–374
81.	Larnaka-Chrysopolitissa	Ulbrich 2008, 349–350
82.	Larnaka-Kamelarka	Ulbrich 2008, 348–349
83.	Larnaka-Patsalos	Ulbrich 2008, 353
84.	Larnaka-Phaneromeni	Ulbrich 2008, 350–351
85.	Larnaka-Salines	Ulbrich 2008, 351–352
86.	Lefkonoiko	Ulbrich 2008, 433–434
87.	Limassol-Komissariato	Ulbrich 2008, 280–281
88.	Limnatis-Episkopeia	Ulbrich 2008, 369
89.	Limnitis-Mersineri	Ulbrich 2008, 465–466
90.	Lithragkomi-Troulia	Ubrich 2008, 446
91.	Mandres-Galaktini	Ulbrich 2008, 438
92.	Mandres-Moutti-Galaktini?	Ulbrich 2008, 439
93.	Mandria-Milli Miggins/Germanos	Ulbrich 2008, 407
94.	Marathovounos	Ulbrich 2008, 291
95.	Marko/Pyroi-Elia Tarlasi	Ulbrich 2008, 304
96.	Maroni-Vournes	Ulbrich 2008, 282–283
97.	Mathiatis-Mavrovouni	Ulbrich 2008, 478
98.	Mavrogia-Adkiakous	Ulbrich 2008, 329
99.	Melouseia-Limni	Ulbrich 2008, 302
100.	Meniko-Litharkes	Ulbrich 2008, 477–478
101.	Mersinaki	Ulbrich 2008, 456–457
102.	Myrtou-Pigadhes	Ulbrich 2008, 375–376
103.	Nea Paphos-Toumballos	Ulbrich 2008, 416
104.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 1	Ulbrich 2008, 380–382
105.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 2	Ulbrich 2008, 382
106.	Orga-Kapsalia	Ulbrich 2008, 376
107.	Patriki-Frangoavgolia	Ulbrich 2008, 436
108.	Pegeia-Kampos tis Maas	Ulbrich 2008, 414–415
109.	Pegeia-Tremithas	Ulbrich 2008, 413
110.	Pera-Frangissa	Ulbrich 2008, 474–476
111.	Pergamos	Ulbrich 2008, 358–359
112.	Phlamoudi-Trachonas	Ulbrich 2008, 440
113.	Phlamoudi-Vounari	Ulbrich 2008, 439–440
114.	Polis-Agios Andronikos	Ulbrich 2008, 392
115.	Polis-Maratheri	Ulbrich 2008, 390–391
116.	Polis-Peristeries	Ulbrich 2008, 388–390

Table A-1. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
117.	Polis-Petrerades	Ulbrich 2008, 391–392
118.	Politiko-Agios Mnason	Ulbrich 2008, 474
119.	Politiko-Chomazoudia	Ulbrich 2008, 470–473
120.	Politiko-Mialathi/Pediaios	Ulbrich 2008, 473–474
121.	Pomos-Appirouri	Ulbrich 2008, 393
122.	Potamia-Ellines	Ulbrich 2008, 327–328
123.	Potamos ton Therkon	Ulbrich 2008, 444–445
124.	Prastio/Trachypedoulas-Agios Savvas tis Karonis	Ulbrich 2008, 410–411
125.	Pyla-Stavros	Ulbrich 2008, 357–358
126.	Pyla-Vikla	Ulbrich 2008, 356–357
127.	Pyrga-Kontomersina	Ulbrich 2008, 330–331
128.	Rantidi-Lingrin tou Digeni	Ulbrich 2008, 408–409 and personal communication with E. Raptou (March 2012)
129.	Saittas-Leivadia	Ulbrich 2008, 369
130.	Salamis-Agia Aikaterine	Ulbrich 2008, 426
131.	Salamis-Apostolos Varnavas	Ulbrich 2008, 426–427
132.	Salamis-Campanopetra	Ulbrich 2008, 423–425
133.	Salamis-Toumba	Ulbrich 2008, 427–428
134.	Sinda	Ulbrich 2008, 432
135.	Skouriotissa/Katydata-Linou	Ulbrich 2008, 466–467
136.	Soloi-Acropolis	Ulbrich 2008, 455
137.	Stroumpi-Kampos	Ulbrich 2008, 394
138.	Strovolos-Kokkines	Ulbrich 2008, 383
139.	Trikomo-Monarga	Ulbrich 2008, 434–435
140.	Troulloi-Petres	Ulbrich 2008, 355
141.	Valeia-Palloures	Ulbrich 2008, 437
142.	Vavla-Kapsales	Ulbrich 2008, 281–282
143.	Vokolida-Kallides	Ulbrich 2008, 437
144.	Voni	Ulbrich 2008, 289–290
145.	Ypsonas-Agios Sylas	Personal communication with K. Papanikolaou (March 2012)

Table A-2. Catalogue of definite and possible sanctuary sites for the Cypro-Classical period.

No.	*Site*	*Source*
1.	Achna (near Xylotymbou)	Ulbrich 2008, 450
2.	Achna (south)	Ulbrich 2008, 447–448
3.	Achna (southeast)?	Ulbrich 2008, 448–449
4.	Achna-Farangas-Acheritou	Ulbrich 2008, 450–451
5.	Achna-Palaio Prastio	Ulbrich 2008, 449

Table A-2. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
6.	Achna-Panagia tis Trachias	Ulbrich 2008, 450
7.	Achna-Vrysoudi	Ulbrich 2008, 449
8.	Agia Irini-Palaiokastro	Ulbrich 2008, 377–378
9.	Agia Napa-Makronisos	Ulbrich 2008, 441–442
10.	Agia Varvara-Almyras	Ulbrich 2008, 330
11.	Agia Varvara-Poupraes or Pera Chorio/Kotsiatis-Koukourtis	Ulbrich 2008, 329–330
12.	Agia-Kebir, Tasli Kaya	Ulbrich 2008, 304–305
13.	Agios Dimitrianos-Skali	Ulbrich 2008, 286–287
14.	Agios Iakovos-Dhima?	Ulbrich 2008, 437–438
15.	Agios Tychonas-Doxamenes/Asvestoton	Ulbrich 2008, 279
16.	Agirda-Abdi Kougousou	Ulbrich 2008, 335
17.	Agirda-Bostanlik (Yassi Belenk)	Ulbrich 2008, 335
18.	Aglantzia-Agia Marina	Ulbrich 2008, 384
19.	Amathous ('palatial' sanctuaries)	Ulbrich 2008, 271–275
20.	Amathous-'subterranean cult place'	Ulbrich 2008, 276–277
21.	Amathous-Acropolis	Ulbrich 2008, 268–271
22.	Amathous-Vikles	Ulbrich 2008, 277–278
23.	Angastina-Alimindiri	Ulbrich 2008, 291
24.	Armenochori-Lazarides	Ulbrich 2008, 280
25.	Arsos	Ulbrich 2008, 305–308
26.	Athienou-Agios Photios	Ulbrich 2008, 297–301
27.	Athienou-Giorkous	Ulbrich 2008, 295–297
28.	Athienou-Malloura	Ulbrich 2008, 302–304
29.	Athienou-Petrera	Ulbrich 2008, 302
30.	Cape Dinaretum	Ulbrich 2008, 445
31.	Chelones	Ulbrich 2008, 445–446
32.	Chytroi-Katsourkas	Ulbrich 2008, 285–286
33.	Chytroi-Skali (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 288–289
34.	Davlos-Geroshinia	Ulbrich 2008, 440
35.	Dhrymou	Ulbrich 2008, 393
36.	Dikomo-Merra Oneisia	Ulbrich 2008, 335–336
37.	Fasouri	Ulbrich 2008, 368
38.	Galini/Potamos tou Kampou-Laxia tis Shistis?	Ulbrich 2008, 456
39.	Gerani-Aronas	Ulbrich 2008, 436
40.	Geroskipou-Monagri	Ulbrich 2008, 409–410
41.	Gialia-Photies	Raptou 2010, 14–22
42.	Idalion-'*Kourotrophos* Hill'	Ulbrich 2008, 321–322
43.	Idalion-Aloupofournos	Ulbrich 2008, 325
44.	Idalion-Ambelleri	Ulbrich 2008, 312–314
45.	Idalion-Ambelleri ('palace' area)?	Ulbrich 2008, 315–316
46.	Idalion-Gialias	Ulbrich 2008, 322–323
47.	Idalion-Limpouraina	Ulbrich 2008, 326
48.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (lower)	Ulbrich 2008, 319–321

Table A-2. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
49.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 316–319
50.	Idalion (northeast)/Bamboula	Ulbrich 2008, 323–324
51.	Kakopetria-Agilades	Ulbrich 2008, 467
52.	Karpasia-Agios Philon	Ulbrich 2008, 443–444
53.	Kazafani-Mines	Ulbrich 2008, 334–335
55.	Keryneia-Regatikon	Ulbrich 2008, 334
56.	Kition-Bamboula	Ulbrich 2008, 345–348
57.	Kition-Kathari	Ulbrich 2008, 341–345
58.	Kochi?	Ulbrich 2008, 354–355
59.	Korovia	Ulbrich 2008, 446
60.	Kouklia-Palaipaphos	Ulbrich 2008, 401–404
61.	Kourion (Apollo *Hylates*)	Ulbrich 2008, 365–367
62.	Kourion-At Meydan	Ulbrich 2008, 364–365
63.	Krines	Ulbrich 2008, 430–431
64.	Lapethos-Drakontas	Ulbrich 2008, 374
65.	Lapethos-Prostemenos	Ulbrich 2008, 373–374
66.	Larnaka (lyceum)	Ulbrich 2008, 350
67.	Larnaka-Chrysopolitissa	Ulbrich 2008, 349–350
68.	Larnaka-Kamelarka	Ulbrich 2008, 348–349
69.	Larnaka-Patsalos	Ulbrich 2008, 353
70.	Larnaka-Salines	Ulbrich 2008, 351–352
71.	Lefkonoiko	Ulbrich 2008, 433–434
72.	Limassol-Komissariato	Ulbrich 2008, 280–281
73.	Limnatis-Episkopeia	Ulbrich 2008, 369
74.	Limnitis-Mersineri	Ulbrich 2008, 465–466
75.	Lythrodontas?	Ulbrich 2008, 478
76.	Mandres-Galaktini	Ulbrich 2008, 438
77.	Mandres-Moutti-Galaktini?	Ulbrich 2008, 439
78.	Mandria-Milli Miggins/Germanos	Ulbrich 2008, 407
79.	Marathovounos	Ulbrich 2008, 291
80.	Marko/Pyroi-Elia Tarlasi	Ulbrich 2008, 304
81.	Maroni-Vournes	Ulbrich 2008, 282–283
82.	Mathiatis-Mavrovouni	Ulbrich 2008, 478
83.	Mavrogia-Adkiakous	Ulbrich 2008, 329
84.	Melouseia-Limni	Ulbrich 2008, 302
85.	Meniko-Litharkes	Ulbrich 2008, 477–478
86.	Mersinaki	Ulbrich 2008, 456–457
87.	Myrtou-Pigadhes	Ulbrich 2008, 375–376
88.	Nea Paphos-Toumballos	Ulbrich 2008, 416
89.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 1	Ulbrich 2008, 380–382
90.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 2	Ulbrich 2008, 382
91.	Nicosia-Archangelos	Ulbrich 2008, 384–385
92.	Orga-Kapsalia	Ulbrich 2008, 376
93.	Pegeia-Kampos tis Maas	Ulbrich 414–415

Table A-2. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
94.	Pegeia-Tremithas	Ulbrich 2008, 413
95.	Pera-Frangissa	Ulbrich 2008, 474–476
96.	Pergamos	Ulbrich 2008, 358–359
97.	Phlamoudi-Trachonas	Ulbrich 2008, 440
98.	Phlamoudi-Vounari	Ulbrich 2008, 439–440
99.	Polis-Martheri	Ulbrich 2008, 390–391
100.	Polis-Peristeries	Ulbrich 2008, 388–390
101.	Polis-Petrerades	Ulbrich 2008, 391–392
102.	Politiko-Agios Mnason	Ulbrich 2008, 474
103.	Politiko-Chomazoudia	Ulbrich 2008, 470–473
104.	Politiko-Mialathi/Pediaios	Ulbrich 2008, 473–474
105.	Pomos-Appiouri	Ulbrich 2008, 393
106.	Potamia-Ellines	Ulbrich 2008, 327–328
107.	Prastio/Trachypedoulas-Agios Savvas tis Karonis	Ulbrich 2008, 410–411
108.	Pyla-Stavros	Ulbrich 2008, 357–358
109.	Pyla-Vikla	Ulbrich 2008, 356–357
110.	Pyrga-Kontomersina	Ulbrich 2008, 330–331
111.	Rantidi-Lingrin tou Digeni	Ulbrich 2008, 408–409 and personal communication with E. Raptou (March 2012)
112.	Salamis-Agia Aikaterine	Ulbrich 2008, 426
113.	Salamis-Apostolos Varnavas	Ulbrich 2008, 426–427
114.	Salamis-Campanopetra	Ulbrich 2008, 423–425
115.	Sinda	Ulbrich 2008, 432
116.	Skouriotissa/Katydata-Linou	Ulbrich 2008, 466–467
117.	Soloi-Acropolis?	Ulbrich 2008, 455–456
118.	Stroumpi-Kampos	Ulbrich 2008, 394
119.	Strovolos-Kokkines	Ulbrich 2008, 383
120.	Sygkrasis	Ulbrich 2008, 434
121.	Trikomo-Monarga	Ulbrich 2008, 434–435
122.	Troulloi-Petres	Ulbrich 2008, 355
123.	Valeia-Palloures?	Ulbrich 2008, 437
124.	Vavla-Kapsales	Ulbrich 2008, 281–282
125.	Vokolida-Kallides	Ulbrich 2008, 437
126.	Voni	Ulbrich 2008, 289–290
127.	Vouni-Paradisiotissa	Ulbrich 2008, 465
128.	Ypsonas-Agios Sylas	Personal communication with K. Papanikolaou (March 2012)

Table A-3. Catalogue of definite and possible sanctuary sites for the Hellenistic period.

No.	*Site*	*Source*
1.	Achna (south)	Ulbrich 2008, 447–448
2.	Agia Irini-Alonia	Ulbrich 2008, 378
3.	Agia Irini-Palaiokastro	Ulbrich 2008, 377–378
4.	Agia Napa-Tartsia	CS 1338
5.	Agia-Kebir, Tasli Kaya	Ulbrich 2008, 304–305
6.	Agios Dimitrianos Skali	Ulbrich 2008, 286–287
7.	Agios Iakovos-Dhima?	Ulbrich 2008, 437–438
8.	Agios Tychonas-Doxamenes/Asvestoton	Ulbrich 2008, 279
9.	Agirda-Bostanlik (Yassi Belenk)	Ulbrich 2008, 335
10.	Aloa-Paliokklesies	CS 1633
11.	Amathous-'subterranean cult place'	Ulbrich 2008, 276–277
12.	Amathous-Acropolis	Ulbrich 2008, 268–271
13.	Amathous-Agora 1	Flourentzos 2007d; Aupert 2009, 30–31
14.	Amathous-Vikles	Ulbrich 2008, 277–278
15.	Anogyra-Vlou	CS 1741
16.	Armenochori-Lazarides	Ulbrich 2008, 280
17.	Arsos	Ulbrich 2008, 305–308
18.	Athienou-Agios Photios	Ulbrich 2008, 297–301
19.	Athienou-Giorkous	Ulbrich 2008, 295–297
20.	Athienou-Malloura	Ulbrich 2008, 302–304
21.	Athienou-Petrera	Ulbrich 2008, 302
22.	Cape Dinaretum	Ulbrich 2008, 445
23.	Chelones	Ulbrich 2008, 445–446
24.	Chytroi-Katsourkas	Ulbrich 2008, 285–286
25.	Chytroi-Skali (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 288–289
26.	Davlos-Geroshinia	Ulbrich 2008, 440
27.	Dikomo-Merra Oneisia	Ulbrich 2008, 335–336
28.	Fasouri	Ulbrich 2008, 368
29.	Gerani-Aronas	Ulbrich 2008, 436
30.	Geronisos	Connelly 2007a
31.	Geroskipou-Monagri	Ulbrich 2008, 409–410
32.	Gialia-Photies	Raptou 2010, 14–22
33.	Idalion-Aloupofournos	Ulbrich 2008, 325
34.	Idalion-Ambelleri ('palace' area)?	Ulbrich 2008, 315–316
35.	Idalion-Limpouraina	Ulbrich 2008, 326
36.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (lower)	Ulbrich 2008, 319–321
37.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 316–319
38.	Kafizin	Mitford 1980a
39.	Kalograia-Lisies	Ulbrich 2008, 291
40.	Kapouti-Kapnistos	CS 101 [113a]
41.	Kapouti-Katithis	CS 204 [221]
42.	Karpasia-Agios Philon	Ulbrich 2008, 443–444

Table A-3. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
43.	Keryneia-Chrysochorafon	Ulbrich 2008, 333
44.	Keryneia-Regatikon	Ulbrich 2008, 334
45.	Kition-Bamboula	Ulbrich 2008, 345–348
46.	Kontea-Agios Mamas	CS 1570
47.	Kornos-Bamboulia	CS 2589
48.	Kouklia-Palaipaphos	Ulbrich 2008, 401–404
49.	Kourion (Apollo *Hylates*)	Ulbrich 2008, 365–367
50.	Kourion-At Meydan	Ulbrich 2008, 264–265
51.	Krines?	Ulbrich 2008, 430–431
52.	Lapethos-Drakontas?	Ulbrich 2008, 374
53.	Lapethos-Lakkos tou Bekkiri	CS 523 [618]
54.	Lapethos-Prostmenos	Ulbrich 2008, 373–374
55.	Larnaka (lyceum)	Ulbrich 2008, 350
56.	Larnaka-Aliki, Patsalos hill	CS 1362
57.	Larnaka-Kamelarka	Ulbrich 2008, 348–349
58.	Larnaka-Patsalos	Ulbrich 2008, 353
59.	Larnaka-Salines	Ulbrich 2008, 351–352
60.	Lefkonoiko	Ulbrich 2008, 433–434
61.	Limnatis-Episkopeia	Ulbrich 2008, 369
62.	Limnitis-Mersineri	Ulbrich 2008, 465–466
63.	Liveras-Kakovounaros	CS 277 [302]
64.	Lythrodontas	Ulbrich 2008, 478
65.	Lythrodontas	Ulbrich 2008, 478
66.	Mandres-Galaktini	Ulbrich 2008, 438
67.	Mandres-Moutti-Galaktini?	Ulbrich 2008, 439
68.	Mandres-Sambatis	Hadjisavvas 1991, 106
69.	Mandria-Milli Miggins/Germanos?	Ulbrich 2008, 407
70.	Marko/Pyrogi-Elia Tarlasi	Ulbrich 2008, 304
71.	Maroni-Vournes	Ulbrich 2008, 282–283
72.	Mathiatis-Mavrovouni	Ulbrich 2008, 478
73.	Mersinaki	Ulbrich 2008, 456–457
74.	Morphou/Ovgos-Ambelia	CS 1310 [1290]; Nicolaou 1963
75.	Morphou-Nikitas	CS 1346
76.	Mosphiloti-Bambouli	CS 2901
77.	Myrtou-Pigadhes?	Ulbrich 2008, 375–376
78.	Nea Paphos-Phabrika?	Młynarczyk 1990, 215–222
79.	Nea Paphos-Phanari?	Młynarczyk 1990, 201–208
80.	Nea Paphos-Toumballos	Ulbrich 2008, 416
81.	Neta-Mersinaki	CS 1386
82.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 1	Ulbrich 2008, 380–382
83.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 2	Ulbrich 2008, 382

Table A-3. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
84.	Pera-Frangissa	Ulbrich 2008, 474–476
85.	Pergamos	Ulbrich 2008, 358–359
86.	Phlamoudhi-Agios Ioannis	Symeonoglou 1972, 192
87.	Phlamoudi-Trachonas	Ulbrich 2008, 440
88.	Phlamoudi-Vounari	Ulbrich 2008, 439–440
89.	Polis Koiladhes	CS 1282 [1702]
90.	Polis-Petrerades	Ulbrich 2008, 391–392
91.	Polis-Petrerades	CS 1262 [1667]
92.	Politiko-Chomazoudia	Ulbrich 2008, 470–473
93.	Politiko-Mialathi/Pediaios	Ulbrich 2008, 473–474
94.	Potamia-Ellines	Ulbrich 2008, 327–328
95.	Prastio/Trachypedoulas-Agios Savvas tis Karonis	Ulbrich 2008, 410–411
96.	Pyla-Stavros	Ulbrich 2008, 357–358
97.	Pyla-Vikla	Ulbrich 2008, 356–357
98.	Pyrga-Kontomersina	Ulbrich 2008, 330–331
99.	Rantidi-Lingrin tou Digeni	Ulbrich 2008, 408–409 and personal communication with E. Raptou (March 2012)
100.	Salamis-Agia Aikaterine	Ulbrich 2008, 426
101.	Salamis-Campanopetra/Temple of Zeus	Ulbrich 2008, 423–425
102.	Sinda	Ulbrich 2008, 432
103.	Soloi-Acropolis?	Młynarczyk 1996, 196
104.	Soloi-Cholades	Westholm 1936
105.	Stroumpi-Kampos	Ulbrich 2008, 394
106.	Sygkrasis	Ulbrich 2008, 434
107.	Vavla-Kapsales	Ulbrich 2008, 281–282
108.	Voni	Ulbrich 2008, 289–290
109.	Ypsonas-Agios Sylas	Personal communication with K. Papani-kolaou (March 2012)

Table A-4. Catalogue of definite and possible sanctuary sites for the Roman period.

No.	*Site*	*Source*
1.	Achna (south)	Ulbrich 2008, 447–448
2.	Agios Tychonas-Throumpovounos	CS 2985
3.	Aloa-Paliokklesies	CS 1633
4.	Amathous-Acropolis	Ulbrich 2008, 268–271
5.	Amathous-Agora 1	Flourentzos 2007d; Aupert 2009, 30–31
6.	Amathous-Agora 2	Aupert 2009, 38–39

Table A-4. (*continued*)

No.	*Site*	*Source*
7.	Amathous-Agora 3	Aupert 2009, 38–39
8.	Arsos	Ulbrich 2008, 305–308
9.	Athienou-Agios Photios	Ulbrich 2008, 297–301
10.	Athienou-Malloura	Ulbrich 2008, 302–304
11.	Athienou-Petrera	Ulbrich 2008, 302
12.	Cape Dinaretum	Ulbrich 2008, 445
13.	Chantria-Grammata (Zeus *Lavranios*)	CS 2985
14.	Chelones	Ulbrich 2008, 445–446
15.	Chytroi-Skali (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 288–289
16.	Davlos-Geroshinia	CS 2214
17.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (lower)	Ulbrich 2008, 319–321
18.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (summit)	Ulbrich 2008, 316–319
19.	Kalograia-Lisies	Ulbrich 2008, 291
20.	Keryneia-Regatikon	Ulbrich 2008, 334
21.	Kouklia-Palaipaphos	Ulbrich 2008, 401–404
22.	Kourion (Apollo *Hylates*)	Ulbrich 2008, 365–367
23.	Larnaka-Salines	Ulbrich 2008, 351–352
24.	Lefkonoiko	Ulbrich 2008, 433–434
25.	Mandres-Sambatis	Hadjisavvas 1991, 106
26.	Marko/Pyrogi-Elia Tarlasi	Ulbrich 2008, 304
27.	Mathiatis-Mavrovouni	Ulbrich 2008, 478
28.	Nea Paphos Phabrika?	Młynarczyk 1990, 215–222
29.	Nea Paphos Phanari?	Młynarczyk 1990, 201–208
30.	Nea Paphos-podium temple?	Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 231
31.	Nea Paphos-Toumballos	Ulbrich 2008, 416
32.	Phasoula (Zeus *Lavranios*)	Hermary 1992
33.	Politiko-Chomazoudia	Ulbrich 2008, 470–473
34.	Politiko-Mialathi/Pediaios	Ulbrich 2008, 473–474
35.	Pyla-Stavros	Ulbrich 2008, 357–358
36.	Pyrga-Kontomersina	Ulbrich 2008, 330–331
37.	Salamis-Campanopetra/Temple of Zeus	Ulbrich 2008, 423–425
38.	Soloi-Acropolis?	Młynarczyk 1996, 196
39.	Soloi-Cholades	Westholm 1936
40.	Voni?	Ulbrich 2008, 289–290

Table A-5. The life-span of Cypriot sanctuaries from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
1.	Achna (south)	Achna-Panagia tis Trachias	Achna (near Xylotymbou)?	Amathous ('palatial' sanctuaries)	Agia Irini-Alonia	Agia Napa-Tartsia
2.	Agia Irini-Palaiokastro	Agios Elias-Agios Tsianneri	Achna (southeast)?	Idalion-Gialias	Agios Iakovos-Dhima	Aloa-Paliokklesies
3.	Agia-Kebir, Tasli Kaya	Agios Therapon-Silidjes	Achna-Farangas-Acheritou	Kition-Kathari	Kalograia-Lisies?	Amathous-Agora 1
4.	Agios Dimitrianos-Skali	Agios Tychonas-Name?	Achna-Palaio Prastio	Krines?	Myrtou-Pigadhes?	Anogyra-Vlou
5.	Agios Tychonas-Dox-amenes/Asvestoton	Alassa-Paliotaverna	Achna-Vrysoudi?	Larnaka-Kamelarka?	Phlamoudi-Vounari	Geronisos
6.	Agirda-Bostanlik (Yassi Belenk)	Amathous-Agios Tychonas/West Necropolis	Agia Napa-Makronisos	Limnitis-Mersineri		Kafizin
7.	Amathous-'subter-ranean cult place'	Anogyra?	Agia Varvara-Almyras	Mandria-Milli Miggins/Germanos		Kapouti Katithis
8.	Amathous-Acropolis	Bogazi	Agia Varvara-Poupraes or Pera Chorio/Kotsiatis-Koukourtis	Polis-Maratheri		Kapouti-Kapnistos

Table A-5. (continued)

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
9.	Amathous-Vikles	Enkomi	Agirda-Kougousou	Potamia-Ellines		Kontea-Agios Mamas
10.	Armenochori-Lazarides	Enkomi (necropolis)	Aglantzia-Agia Marina	Salamis-Apostolos Varnavas?		Kornos-Bamboulia
11.	Arsos	Filani-Petaloudia	Angastina-Alimindiri	Sinda-Siratas?		Lapethos-Lakkos tou Bekkiri
12.	Athienou-Agios Photios	Idalion-Agios Georgios	Dhrymou	Stroumpi-Kampos?		Larnaka-Aliki, Patsalos hill
13.	Athienou-Giorkous	Idalion-Petrara	Galini/Potamos tou Kampou-Laxia tis Shistis?			Liveras-Kakovounaros
14.	Athienou-Malloura	Kalo Chorio/Klirou-Zithkionas	Idalion-'*Kourotrophos* Hill'			Mandres-Sambatis
15.	Athienou-Petrera	Kalopsida?	Idalion-Ambelleri			Morphou/Ovgos-Ambelia
16.	Cape Dinaretum	Kouklia-Marcellos	Idalion (northeast)/Bamboula			Morphou-Nikitas
17.	Chelones	Lapethos-Kremmos tou Volou	Kakopetria-Agilades			Mosphiloti-Bambouli

Table A-5. (*continued*)

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
18.	Chytroi-Katsourkas	Larnaka-Phaneromeni	Kazafani-Mines			Nea Paphos-Phabrika?
19.	Chytroi-Skali (summit)	Lithrankomi-Troulia?	Kochi?			Nea Paphos-Phanari?
20.	Davlos-Geroshinia	Patriki-Frangoavgolia	Korovia			Neta-Mersinaki
21.	Dikomo-Merra Oneisia	Polis-Agios Andronikos	Larnaka-Chrysopolitissa			Phlamoudhi-Agios Ioannis
22.	Fasouri	Potamos ton Therkon	Limassol-Komissariato			Polis Koiladhes
23.	Gerani-Aronas	Saittas-Leivadia?	Marathovounos			Soloi-Cholades
24.	Geroskipou-Monagri	Salamis-Toumba	Mavrogia-Adkiakous			
25.	Gialia-Photies		Melouseia-Limni			
26.	Idalion-Aloupofournos		Meniko-Litharkes			
27.	Idalion-Ambelleri ('palace' area)?		Nicosia-Agioi Omologites			
28.	Idalion-Limpouraina		Nicosia-Archangelos			

Table A-5. (*continued*)

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
29.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (lower)		Orga-Kapsalia			
30.	Idalion-Moutti tou Arvili (summit)		Pegeia-Kampos tis Maas			
31.	Karpasia-Agios Philon		Pegeia-Tremithas			
32.	Keryneia-Chrysochorafon		Polis-Peristeries			
33.	Keryneia-Regatikon		Politiko-Agios Mnason			
34.	Kition-Bamboula		Pomos-Appiouri			
35.	Kouklia-Palaipaphos		Skouriotissa/Katydata-Linou			
36.	Kourion (Apollo *Hylates*)		Trikomo-Monarga			
37.	Kourion-At Meydan		Troulloi-Petres			
38.	Lapethos-Drakontas?		Valeia-Palloures?			
39.	Lapethos-Prostemenos		Vokolida-Kallides			

Table A-5. (*continued*)

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
40.	Larnaka (lyceum)		Vouni ('palatial' sanctuaries)			
41.	Larnaka-Patsalos		Vouni-Paradisiotissa			
42.	Larnaka-Salines					
43.	Lefkonoiko					
44.	Limnatis-Episkopeia					
45.	Limnitis-Mersineri					
46.	Lythrodontas?					
47.	Mandres-Galaktini					
48.	Mandres-Moutti Galaktini?					
49.	Marko/Pyroi-Elia Tarlasi					
50.	Maroni-Vournes					
51.	Mathiatis-Mavrovouni					
52.	Mersinaki					

Table A-5. (*continued*)

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
53.	Nea Paphos-Toumballos					
54.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 1					
55.	Nicosia-Agios Georgios 2					
56.	Pera-Frangissa					
57.	Pergamos					
58.	Phlamoudi-Trachonas					
59.	Polis-Petrerades					
60.	Politiko-Chomazoudia					
61.	Politiko-Mialathi/Pediaios					
62.	Prastio/Trachypedoulas-Agios Savvas tis Karonis					

Table A-5. (*continued*)

No.	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical-Hellenistic*	*Ends Cypro-Archaic*	*Ends Cypro-Classical*	*Ends late Cypro-Classical/early Hellenistic?*	*Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical, restart Hellenistic?*	*Begins Hellenistic*
63.	Pyla-Stavros					
64.	Pyla-Vikla					
65.	Pyrga-Kontomersina					
66.	Rantidi-Lingrin tou Digeni					
67.	Salamis-Agia Aikaterine					
68.	Salamis-Campano-petra/Temple of Zeus?					
69.	Soloi-Acropolis?					
70.	Strovolos-Kokkines					
71.	Sygkrasis					
72.	Vavla-Kapsales					
73.	Voni					
74.	Ypsonas-Agios Sylas					

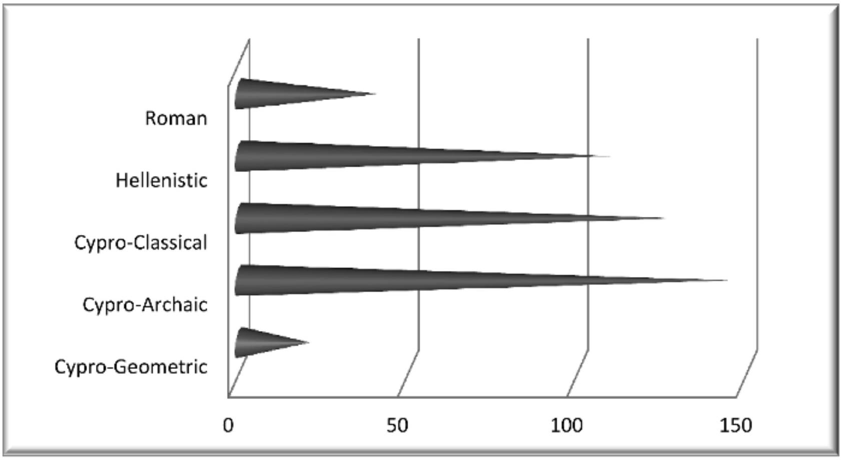

Chart 1. Density of sanctuary sites, from the Cypro-Geometric to the Roman period.

APPENDIX TWO

'PORTRAITS'

Table B-1 includes the statue-bases of Palaipaphos, which has been used as a case study to illustrate Ptolemaic power and ideology on the island through the epigraphic evidence. Where I was able to check the nature of the material (stone or marble) directly, I did so. Otherwise, I have followed the information provided in Hirschfeld 1996. The text given below is not the exact translation of the inscriptions, but rather an attempt to present the content; these readings are based to a great extent on Marquaille (2001).

Table B-2 includes most of the identifications made for the Cypriot 'portraits'. The scholar who made the identification is cited in the bibliography column. Connelly is cited in [ ] for chronology issues and, in some instances, when a figure of the statue could not be located in the actual publication of the suggested identification. With regard to the problematic nature of chronology, I have accepted the dates proposed by Connelly, after a detailed stylistic analysis. Therefore, the chronology is cited only in the case of Idalion, Arsos, Golgoi and Voni, namely the sites that received sculptural analysis by Connelly. However, as Connelly (1988, 112) herself states "[t]he chronology suggested here cannot be proved. Rather it should be considered as a general indication of date, a framework around which to group pieces for methodological purposes".

Table B-1. Inscribed statue-bases from the sanctuary of Palaipaphos.

No.	*Location*	*Date*	*Material*
1.	Palaipaphos	early first BC	marble base
2.	Palaipaphos	early first BC	stone base
3.	Palaipaphos	early second BC	marble statue base
4.	Palaipaphos	early third BC	stone base
5.	Palaipaphos	early third BC	stone base
6.	Palaipaphos	early–mid. third BC	stone base
7.	Palaipaphos	end second BC	stone base
8.	Palaipaphos	end second BC–early first BC	stone base
9.	Palaipaphos	end third BC–early second BC	marble base
10.	Palaipaphos	end third–early second BC	marble base
11.	Palaipaphos	end third–early second BC	marble base
12.	Palaipaphos	end third–early second BC	stone base
13.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	stone base
14.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	stone base
15.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base

Evidence	*Sources*
The city of Paphos dedicated a statue of Onesandros, kinsman of the king, priest of king Ptolemy *Soter* for life and of the Ptolemaion he had built, *grammateus* of the city of Paphos, and director of the library in Alexandria.	Mitford 1961a, 40–41, 110, no. 110.
The *Koinon Kyprion* dedicated a statue of Potamon son of Aigyptos, *antistrategos*, in charge of the mines and *gymnasiarchos*.	Mitford 1961a, 39, no. 107.
Statue of Ptolemaios, son of the *Strategos* Polykrates of Argos, *somatophylax*, erected by the gymnasium for his *arete* and *eunoia* towards king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, gods *Philopatores*.	Mitford 1961a, 18, no. 46.
Erection of a statue of the *nauarchos* Kallikrates, son of Boiskos.	Mitford 1961a, 9, no. 18.
Statue of Ptolemy *Soter* (?)	Mitford 1961a, 8, no. 15.
The statue of Pyrgoteles, son of Zoes, a naval architect erected by Ptolemy *Philadelphus*.	Mitford 1961a, 9, no. 17.
The city of Paphos dedicated a statue of Kallippos, son of Kallippos, member of the *koinon* of the Dionysiac artists and the gods *Euergetai*, secretary of the city, successful *gymnasiarchos* of the year 106/5.	Mitford 1961a, 36–37, no. 98.
The *Koinon Kyprion* dedicated a statue of Potamon son of Aigyptos, ex-*gymnasiarchos*, ex-*hegetor*, and member of the *koinon* of the Dionysiac artists and the gods *Euergetai*, to Paphian Aphrodite.	Mitford 1961a, 37, no. 99.
The statues of Zeuxo of Cyrene, wife of Polykrates, *Strategos* and *Archiereus* of the island, erected by the city of Paphos.	Mitford 1961a, 17, no. 44.
Polykrates, son of Mnasiades of Argos, *Strategos* and *Archiereus* of the island, honours Ptolemy V, god *Epiphane* and *Euchariston* of the gods *Philopatores*.	*SEG* 31 (1981), no. 1359; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1968, 23–25, no. 1.
The statues of Polykrates, *Strategos* and *Archiereus*, and of his father, Mnasiadas, and his children, erected by the city of Paphos.	Mitford 1961a, 17, no. 43.
The statue of Zeuxo of Cyrene, wife of Polykrates, *Strategos* and *Archiereus* of Cyprus, erected by Stratonike, daughter of Nikias of Alexandria.	Mitford 1961a, 16, 41.
A statue erected by the garrison of Cyprus.	Mitford 1961a, 35,-6, no. 96.
The city of Paphos, dedicated a statue of Aristonike, daughter of Ammonios, wife of Aristokrates, kinsman, *hypomnematographos* and member of the *koinon* of the Dionysiac artists on Cyprus.	Mitford 1961a, 35, no. 95.
The statues of Helenos, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Archiereas* and *archikynegos* of the island, of his wife and their daughter, erected by the priests of the Paphian Aphrodite, for their *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 32–33, no. 87.

Table B-1. (*continued*)

No.	*Location*	*Date*	*Material*
16.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
17.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
18.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
19.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
20.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
21.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
22.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	stone base
23.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
24.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
25.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
26.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
27.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
28.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	stone base
29.	Palaipaphos	late second–early first BC	stone base

Evidence	*Sources*
The statue of Theodoros, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the *koinon* of the Ionians and their associates, for his *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 31–32, no. 84.
The statue of Theodoros, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the *koinon* of the Cilicians, for his *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 31, no. 87.
The statue of Theodoros, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the *koinon* of the Lycians, for his *arete* and *eunoia* towards the king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra the sister, and queen Cleopatra the wife, gods *Euergetai*, and their children, for their *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 30, 79.
The statue of a son of Theodoros, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the *koinon* of the Lycians.	Mitford 1961a, 30–31, no. 81.
The statue of a daughter of Theodoros, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*.	Mitford 1961a.31, no. 82.
The statue of Lochos, *Strategos* of the Thebaid, erected by the officers (?) of a regiment of the Cypriot garrison.	Mitford 1961a, 28, no. 75.
Statue of Krokos, kinsman of the king, *Nauarchos*, *epistates*, *Archiereus* and *Strategos* of the island, erected by the city of Paphos for his *eunoia* towards king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra his wife, gods *Euergetai*, and their children, and for his *euergesia* towards the city.	Mitford 1961a, 28, no. 74.
The statue of Diasthenes, kinsman of the king, erected by the *koinon* of the Lycians.	Mitford 1961a, 29, no. 77.
The statue of a daughter of Theodoros, son of Seleykos, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus* of the island, erected by the city of Paphos (?).	Mitford 1961a, 27, no. 72.
The statue of Seleukos, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the priest of Paphian Aphrodite, for his *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 27, no. 70.
The statue of Seleukos, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the officers of the Cilician regiment, for his *arete*, *eunoia* towards the king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra the sister and queen Cleopatra the wife, gods *Euergetai*, and their children, for their *eurgesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 27, no. 71.
The statue of Theodoros, of the first friends of the king, son of Seleukos, the *Strategos* of Cyprus, erected by the officers of the Cypriot garrison, for his *arete* and *eunoia* towards the king Ptolemy and the queen Cleopatra the sister, gods *Euergetai*, and their children, for their *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 26, no. 69.
Krokos honoured by the Lycians.	*SEG* 13 (1956), no. 573.
The statue of Asclepiades, priest of a temple (of Ptolemy?) of which he was himself the founder.	Mitford 1961a, 40, no. 109.

Table B-1. (*continued*)

No.	*Location*	*Date*	*Material*
30.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
31.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
32.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
33.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
34.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
35.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
36.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
37.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
38.	Palaipaphos	mid. second–early first BC	stone base
39.	Palaipaphos	third BC	marble base
40.	Palaipaphos	third BC	marble base
41.	Palaipaphos	first BC	stone base
42.	Palaipaphos	early second BC	marble base
43.	Palaipaphos	end second BC	marble base
44.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base

Evidence	*Sources*
The military forces stationed on Cyprus erected a statue of Ptolemy *Philopator* or *Eupator*, son of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra his sister, gods *Philometores*, for his *arete* and *euergesia* towards them.	Mitford 1961a, 23, no. 59.
The statues of Ptolemy VI *Philometor*, Cleopatra II, and their four children, erected by the officers of the garrison stationed in Cyprus.	Mitford 1961a, 22, no. 55.
The statues of Ptolemy VI *Philometor* and of his son, Ptolemy VII *Eupator*, dedicated to Paphian Aphrodite.	Mitford 1961a, 22, no. 56.
The statue of Ptolemy VII *Eupator*.	Mitford 1961a, 23, no. 57.
The college (*synarchia*) of the former and present *Strategoi* of Paphos dedicated a statue of Kallikles, *somatophylax*, the king's instructor in warfare and commander of the Alexandrian cavalry, for his *arete* and *eunoia* towards king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra his sister, gods *Philometores*, and their children, and for his *euergesia* towards the college and for his justice to all.	Mitford 1961a, 21, no. 54.
His wife and son honour Xenophon, *Strategos* of Cyprus.	*SEG* 20 (1964), no. 200.
The statue of Karpion, erected by his sons Andron, Herodotos, Karpion and Ptolemaios, and by the engineers under his command.	Mitford 1961a, 23, no. 58.
The garrison stationed on the island erected a statue of Archias, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*.	Mitford 1961a, 20, no. 52.
Fragment concerning the *Basilistai*.	Mitford 1961a, 39, no. 105.
The city of Paphos erected a statue of Myrsine, daughter of Hyperbassas and wife of the *Strategos* Pelops, for his *eunoia* towards king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, gods *Philopatores*.	Mitford 1961a, 15, no. 39.
The city of Paphos honours Ptolemy *Philopator* (?)	*SEG* 20 (1964), no. 188.
The statues of the sons of Phylagoras(?), the kinsman of the king, the one *mantiarchos*, the other priest (?) of Aphrodite, Zeus *Polieus* and Hera were erected for their *philagathia*.	Mitford 1961a, 38, no. 103.
Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios, Alexandrian, kinsman of the king, *Strategos* and *Archiereus* of Cyprus, erected a statue of king Ptolemy, god *Philometor*, son of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra gods *Epiphaneis*, in the sanctuary of Aphrodite.	Mitford 1961a, 20, no. 51.
Priests of Paphian Aphrodite honour Ptolemy *Soter*.	*SEG* 20 (1964), no. 207.
The statue of king god Ptolemy Alexander I, erected by Ptolemaios and Ischyrion, commanders of the naval squadrons based on the island.	Mitford 1961a, 34–35, no. 94.

Table B-1. (*continued*)

No.	*Location*	*Date*	*Material*
45.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
46.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
47.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
48.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
49.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	Marble base
50.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
51.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble statue base
52.	Palaipaphos	late second BC	marble base
53.	Palaipaphos	mid. second BC	marble base
54.	Palaipaphos	end second BC	marble base

Evidence	*Sources*
The statue of a son of Theodoros, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by Helenos, an usher to the Court.	Mitford 1961a, 32, no. 85.
The statue of Theodoros, kinsman of the king, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by Helenos of Cyrene, usher to the court.	Mitford 1961a, 32, no. 86.
The statue of Helenos, kinsman of the king, *Strategos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the Cilician *koinon*, for his *philagathia*.	Mitford 1961a, 34, no. 91.
The statue of Helenos, kinsman of the king, *Strategos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the priesthood of Paphia Aphrodite, for his *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 34, no. 92.
Statue of Ptolemy, son of king Ptolemy, god *Euergetes*, by Helenos, kinsman, *Strategos*, *Archiereus* and *archikynegos* of Cyprus, the priest of [...], to Paphian Aphrodite.	Mitford 1961a, 33, no. 88.
The statue of Olympias, wife of Theodoros, *Strategos*, *Nauarchos* and *Archiereus*, erected by the Lycian *koinon*.	Miford 1961a, 30, no. 80.
The city of Salamis honours Theodoros, the *Strategos* of Cyprus.	*SEG* 25 (1971), no. 1101.
The statue of Ptolemy god Alexander I, erected by Isidoros of Antioch, son of Helenos, for his *euergesia*.	Mitford 1961a, 34, no. 93.
The statue of Ptolemy VI *Philometor*, erected by Kallikles, son of Kallikles of Alexandria, and *archisomatophylax* of the cavalry in Alexandria and royal instructor in tactics, for his *euergesia* towards him and his children.	Mitford 1961a, 20–21, no. 53.
The statue of Ptolemy *Soter* II, erected by the priests of Paphian Aphrodite, for his *euergesia* towards them.	Mitford 1961a, 36, no. 97.

Table B-2. Cypriot 'portraits' and their proposed identifications.

No.	*Material*	*Description*	*Suggested identification*	*Site*
1.	stone	male head	perhaps Alexander the Great	?
2.	stone	male head	Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	?
3.	stone	male statue	facial type of Demetrius *Poliorcetes* (Pryce and Cook); Ptolemy III *Euergetes*? (Vessberg)	Idalion
4.	stone	male head	Alexander the Great	Idalion
5.	stone	male head	Demetrius *Poliorcetes* (Pryce, Vessberg, Cook, Burdajewicz)	Idalion
6.	stone	male head	Ptolemy I *Soter*	Idalion
7.	stone	male head	Ptolemy II	Idalion
8.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	Idalion
9.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	Achna
10.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy II (Pryce); Demetrius *Poliorcetes*? (Vessberg)	Idalion
11.	stone	male head	Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	Idalion
12.	stone	male head	Ptolemy IV *Philopator*	Idalion
13.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy V *Epiphanes*	Idalion
14.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy V *Epiphanes*	Idalion
15.	stone	infant head	perhaps Ptolemy II	Idalion
16.	stone	boy head	perhaps Ptolemy II	Idalion
17.	stone	infant head	perhaps Ptolemy IV *Philopator*	Idalion
18.	stone	male statue	probably Demetrius *Poliorcetes*	Idalion
19.	stone	female head	Berenice I	Pyla
20.	stone	female head	Arsinoe II	?
21.	stone	female statuette	Berenice I	?
22.	stone	female head	Arsinoe III	?
23.	stone	female statue	Berenice I	?
24.	stone	female head	Berenice I	?
25.	stone	female head	Berenice I	?
26.	stone	female head	Berenice I	?
27.	stone	female statue	perhaps Berenice II	?
28.	stone	female head	Berenice I	Pyla

Date	*Bibliography*
	Myres 1914, 211, no. 1318; [Connelly 1988, 10, pl. 29, fig. 113].
	Pryce 1931, 68, C 170, fig. 107.
mid. second BC	Pryce 1931, 69, C 173, fig. 108; Vessberg in *SCE* 4(3): 91; Cook 1979, 42–44, fig. 52; [Connelly 1988, 72–73, Cat. 27, pl. 27, fig. 102].
	Pryce 1931, 70, C 175, fig. 109.
mid. third BC	Pryce 1931, 71, C 177, fig. 111; Vessberg in *SCE* 4(3): 91; Cook 1979, 41–42, fig. 51. [Connelly 1988, 69, Cat. 22, pl. 24, fig. 90]; Burdajewicz 1992, 43.
	Pryce 1931, 71, C 178, figs 112–113.
	Pryce 1931, 71–72, C 179, figs 112–113.
second half third BC	Pryce 1931, 72, C 180, figs 112–113; [Connelly 1988, 71, Cat. 25, pl. 25, figs 96–97].
	Pryce 1931, 73, C 181, fig. 114; [Connelly 1988, pl. 23, figs 88–89].
mid. third BC	Pryce 1931, 73–74, C 183, fig. 115; Vessberg in *SCE* 4(3): 91; [Connelly 1988, 70–71, Cat. 24, pl. 25, figs 94–95].
	Pryce 1931, 74, C 184, fig. 117.
	Pryce 1931, 75–76, C 187, fig. 119.
	Pryce 1931, 76, C 189, fig. 120.
	Pryce 1931, 76, C 190, fig. 121.
	Pryce 1931, 77–78, C 192, fig. 123.
	Pryce 1931, 78, C 193, fig. 124.
	Pryce 1931, 78, C 194, fig. 125.
second half second BC	Pryce 1931, 79–80, C 198, fig. 129; [Connelly 1988, 73, Cat. 28, pl. 27, figs 104–105].
	Pryce 1931, 117–118, C 325, fig. 186.
	Pryce 1931, 118, C 347.
	Pryce 1931, 118, C 348, fig. 188.
	Pryce 1931, 118–119, C 350.
	Pryce 1931, 119, C 352, fig. 190.
	Pryce 1931, 119, C 354, fig. 191.
	Pryce 1931, 119, C 355.
	Pryce 1931, 120, C 357, fig. 192.
	Pryce 1931, 120, C 359.
	Pryce 1931, 123, C 366, fig. 196.

Table B-2. (*continued*)

No.	*Material*	*Description*	*Suggested identification*	*Site*
29.	stone	female head	Berenice I	Achna
30.	stone	female head	Berenice I	?
31.	stone	female statue	perhaps Arsinoe II	Pyla
32.	stone	male head	Alexander the Great	Soloi
33.	stone	male head	Ptolemaic 'potentate' (Westholm); perhaps a Ptolemaic king (Dikaios)	Arsos
34.	stone	male head	Ptolemaic 'potentate'	Arsos
35.	stone	male head	Ptolemaic 'potentate'	Arsos
36.	stone	male head	Ptolemy II, *Philadelphus*	Voni
37.	marble	female head	Arsinoe II (Thompson); probably a Ptolemaic queen (Dikaios); Arsinoe II (Kyrieleis); perhaps Berenice II (Vermeule); Arsinoe II (Senff); Arsinoe II (Demetriou); probably Arsinoe II (Erath-Koiner); Arsinoe II (Vasileiou)	Soloi
38.	marble	female head	perhaps Arsinoe II	Soloi
39.	stone	female head	Berenice II	?
40.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	?
41.	stone	male statue	Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	?
42.	stone	male head	Ptolemaic ruler, perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	?
43.	stone	male head	perhaps an idealised ruler, perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	?
44.	stone	male head	perhaps an idealised Ptolemaic ruler	?
45.	stone	male head	perhaps an idealised Ptolemaic portrait [in comparison with Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 279, no. 450–453]	Idalion
46.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes* [in comparison with Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 280, no. 451]	?
47.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes* [in comparison with Vermeule 1976, 55, fig. 21]	?

Date	*Bibliography*
	Pryce 1931, 123, C 367.
	Pryce 1931, 124, C 368, fig. 197.
	Pryce 1931, 125, C 371.
	Westholm 1936, 111, 195–196, Cat. 520, pl. XIV.
mid. first BC	Westholm in *SCE* 3: 592, pl. CXCVII, figs 1–2; Dikaios 1961, 104–105, pl. XXI, 4; [Connelly 1988, 40, Cat. 9, pl. 15, figs 54–55].
early first BC	Westholm in *SCE* 3: 592, pl. CXCVII, fig. 3; [Connelly 1988, 41–42, Cat. 11, pl. 16, figs 58–59].
early first BC	Westholm in *SCE* 3: 592, pl. CXCVII, fig. 4; [Connelly 1988, 40–41, Cat. 10, pl. 15, figs 56–57].
second half third BC	Dikaios 1961, 105; [Connelly 1988, 56–57, Cat. 16, pl. 19, figs 70–71].
	Thompson 1955, 205; Dikaios 1961, 108, no. 13; Kyrieleis 1975, 82–83, Pl. 73, 1–4; Vermeule 1976, 55, note 21, fig. 19; Senff 1989, 191, note 25; Demetriou 2000, pl. CXXXIV; Erath-Koiner 2003, 31; Vasileiou 2009, 154, fig. 16.3.
	Dikaios 1961, 108, no. 12.
	Vermeule 1972, no. 46; 1976, 55, fig. 20; Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 281, no. 454.
late third BC	Vermeule 1972, no. 47; 1976, 55, fig. 20, fig. 21; Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 279, no. 450; [Connelly 1988, 107, Cat. 64, pl. 50, figs 187–188].
	Connelly 1988, 12 (citing Vollenweider).
	Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 280, no. 451.
	Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 281, no. 453.
	Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 282, no. 455.
	Lo Porto 1986, 205, no. 437, pl. 54.
	Lo Porto 1986, 205, no. 438, pl. 54.
	Decaudin 1987, 152–153, pl. LIX.

Table B-2. (*continued*)

No.	*Material*	*Description*	*Suggested identification*	*Site*
48.	stone	male head	perhaps Ptolemy III *Euergetes*	Idalion
49.	stone	male head	perhaps Demetrius *Poliorcetes*	?
50.	Stone	male head	perhaps Demerius *Poliorcetes*	?
51.	stone	female head	perhaps Axiothea, Berenice II, Arsinoe II, Aphrodite [cited in Connelly 1988, 24, note 85]	Arsos
52.	Stone	female statue	probably a Ptolemaic princess	Idalion

Date	*Bibliography*
late second/ early first BC	Cook 1979, 44–45, fig. 55; [Connelly 1988, 73–74, Cat. 29, pl. 28, figs 106–107]
	Nielsen 2001, 130, no. 38.
	Nielsen 2001, 130–131, no. 39.
early third BC	Westholm 1937 in *SCE* 3: 591, pls CXCIV–CXCV; [Connelly 1988, 35, Cat. 1, pl. 11, figs 38–39].
	Hermary 1989a, 378, no. 768.

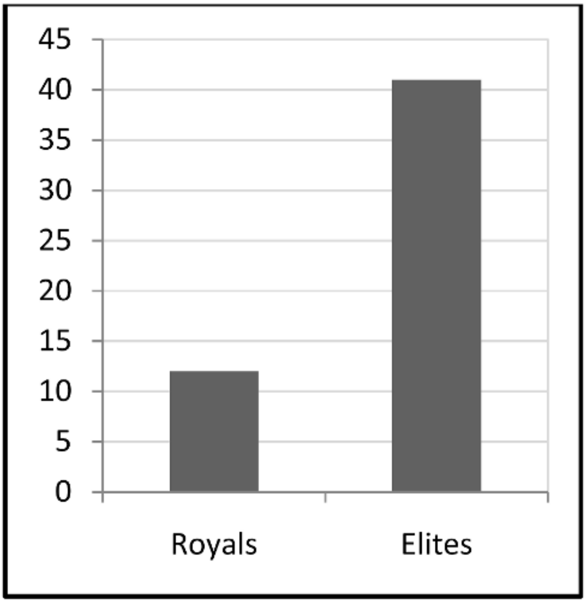

Chart 2. Distribution of Palaipaphos inscriptions between royals and elites.

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FIGURES

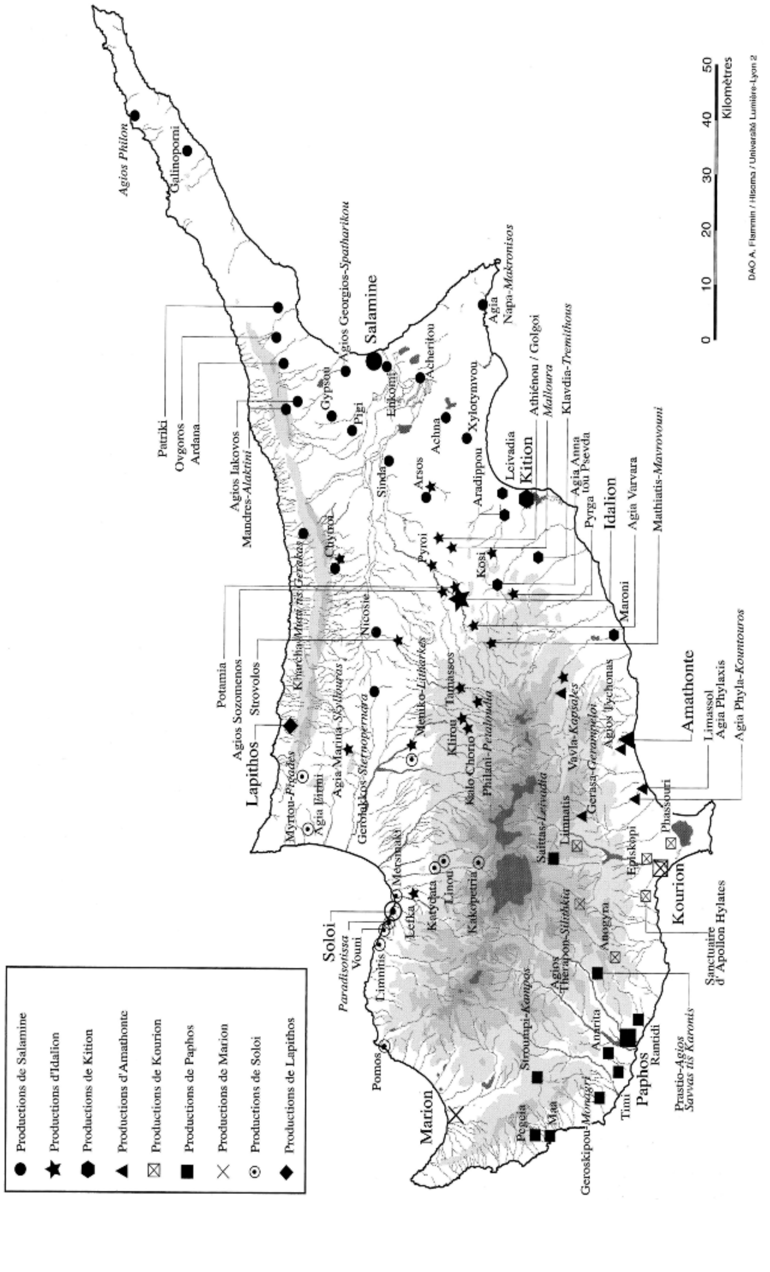


Figure 1. Zones of cultural influence based on the diffusion of Cypriot terracottas © S. Fourrier/ A. Flammin (Fourrier 2007b, 113, fig. 9).

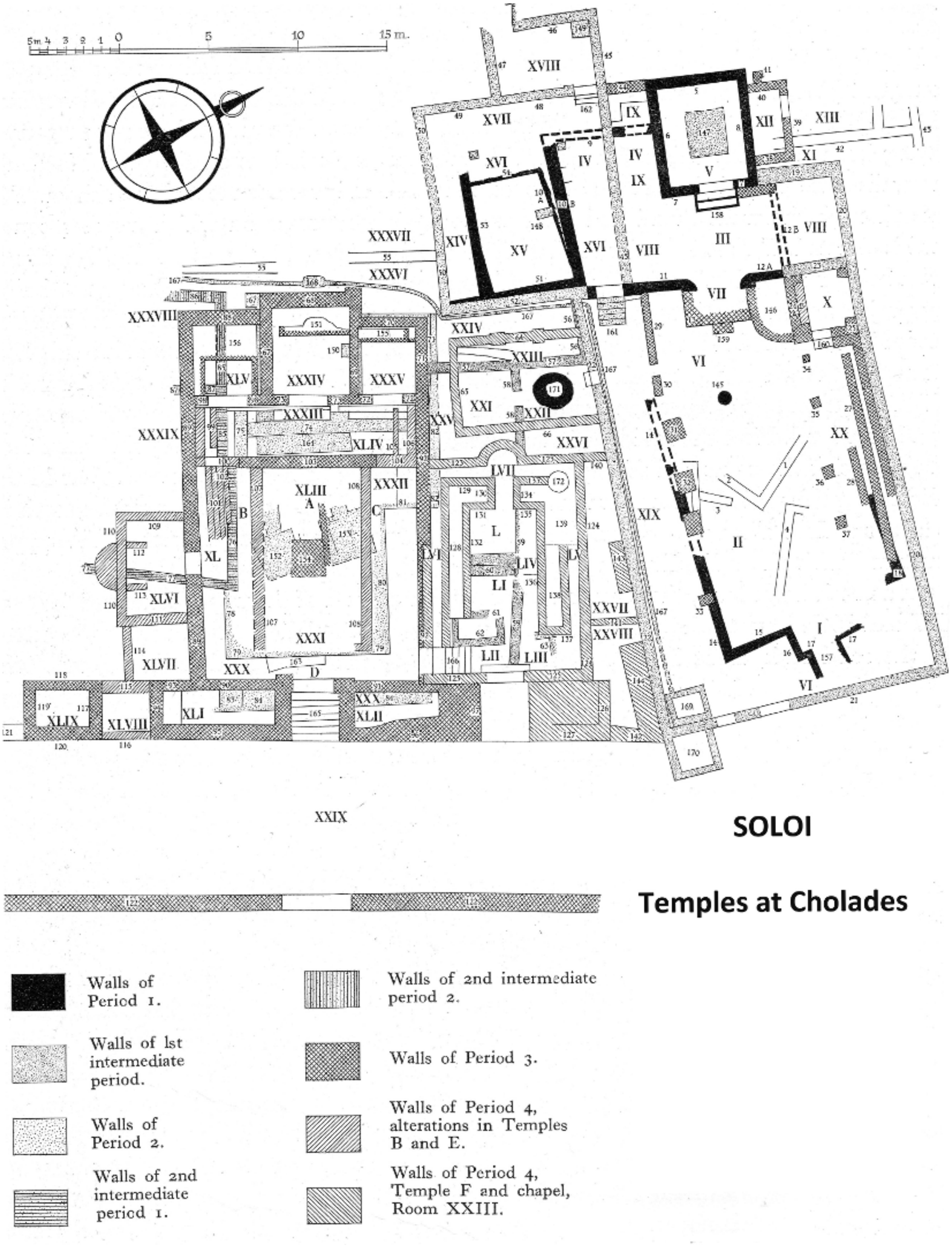


Figure 2. Analytical plan of the Soloi-Cholades temples (after Westholm 1936, 87, fig. 50).

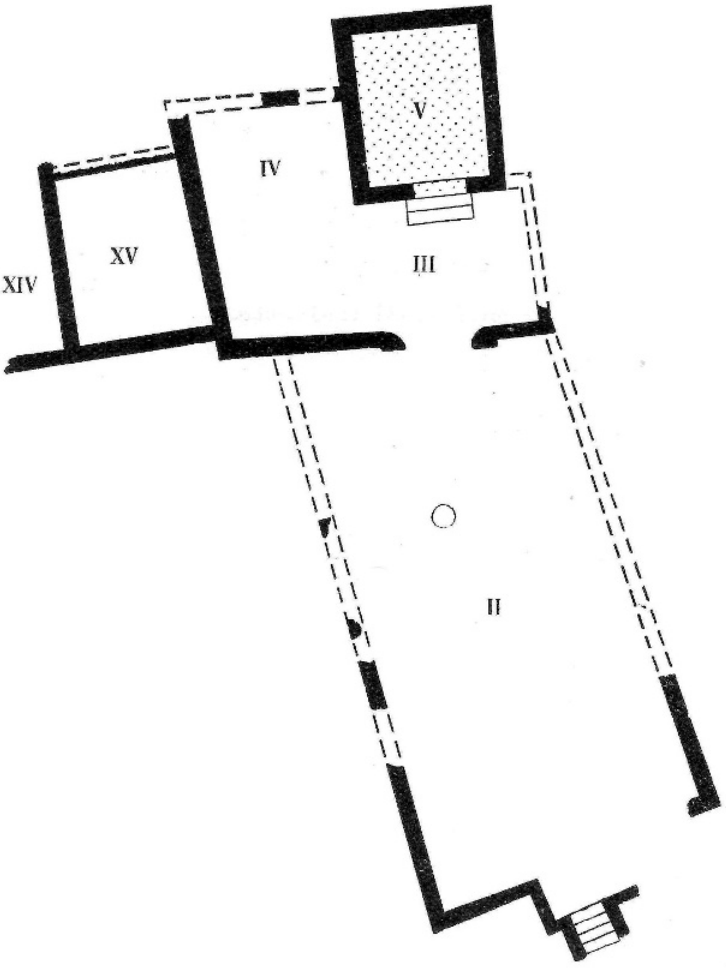


Figure 3. Soloi-Cholades, plan and reconstructed sketch of temple A, period 1 (after Westholm 1936, 90, figs 51, 53).

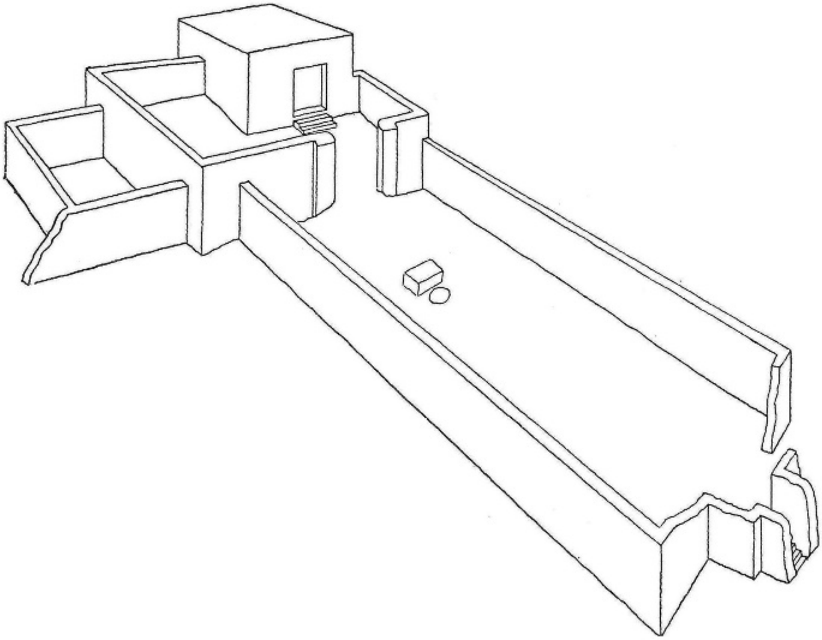


Figure 3 (*continued*).

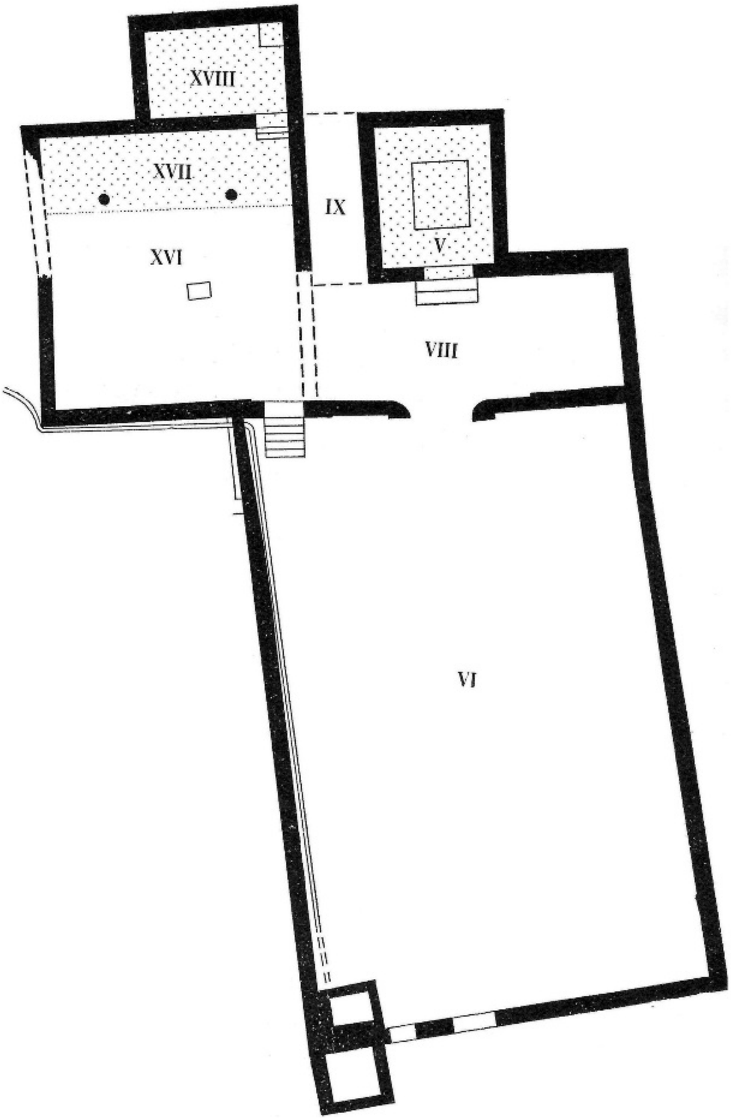
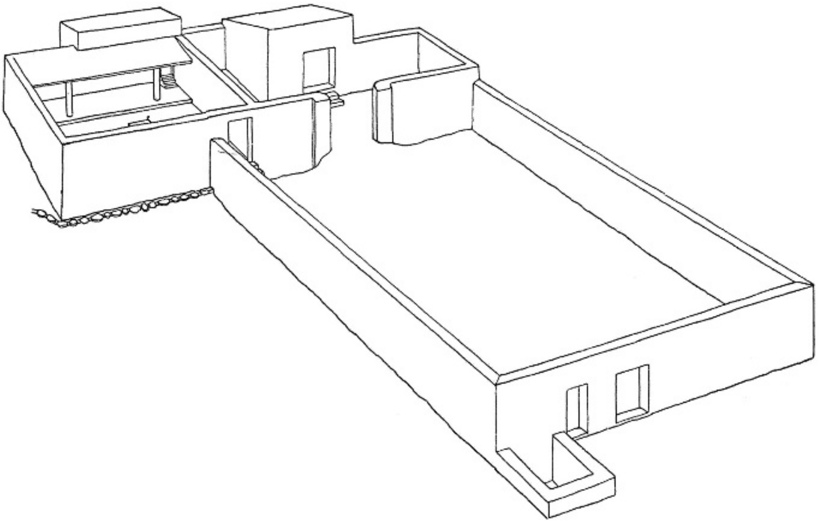


Figure 4. Soloi-Cholades, plan and reconstructed sketch of temples B and C, period 2 (after Westholm 1936, 90, figs 52, 54).



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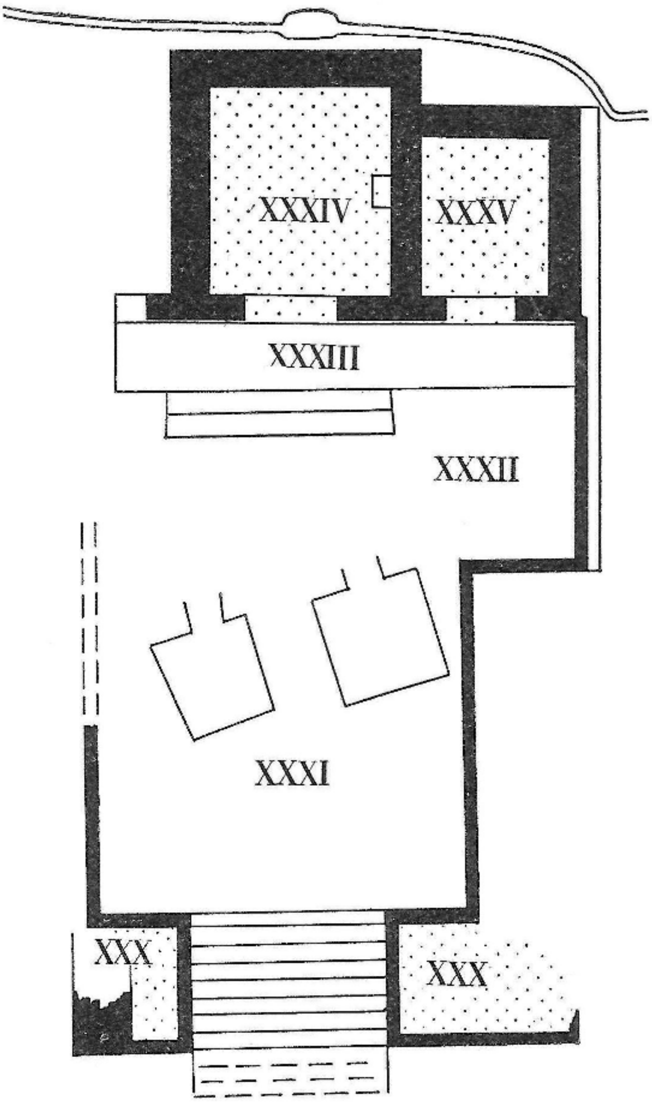

Figure 5. Soloi-Cholades, plan and reconstructed sketch of temple D, period 2 (after Westholm 1936, 91, figs 56, 58).

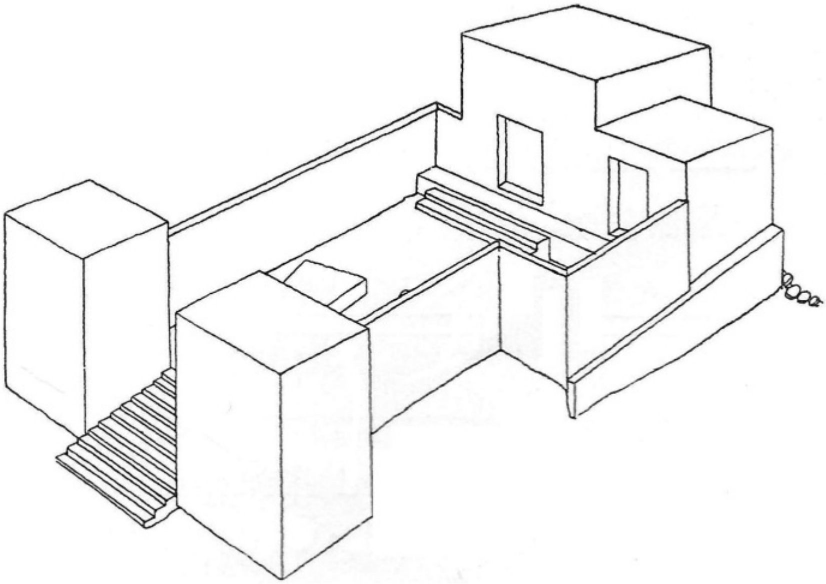

Figure 5 (*continued*).

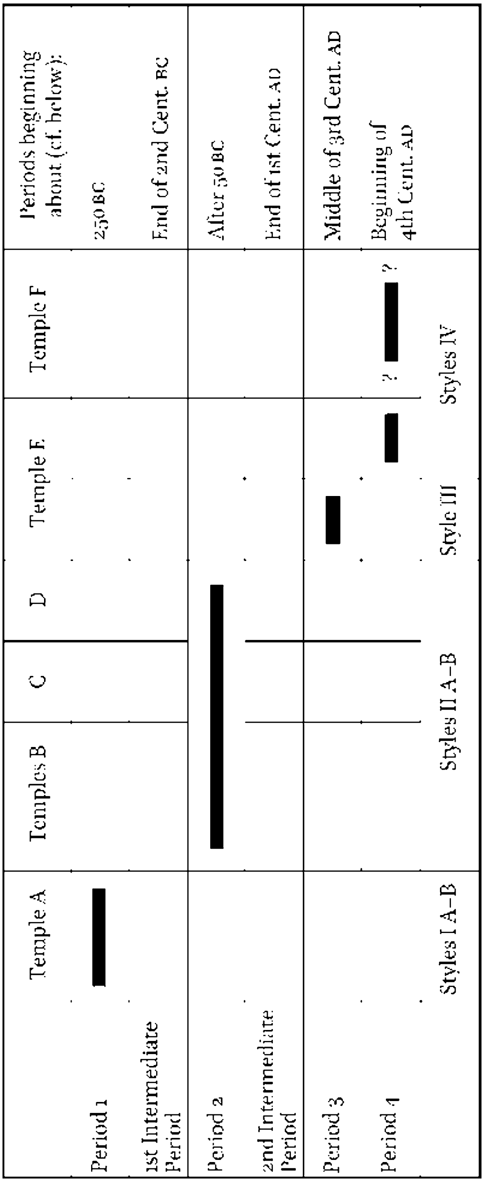

Figure 6. Diagram representing the way in which the Soloi-Cholades sculptural styles were connected with the various temples and periods (after Westholm 1936, 144).

Figure 7. Marble head, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 438, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 8. Marble statuette, style I A, from Soloi-Cholades—find 447, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 9. Marble statuette of Aphrodite, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—finds 416 and 463, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. V, no. 3).

Figure 10. Marble statuette of 'Aphrodite in arms', style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 466, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 11. Marble head, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 511, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. VII, no. 1).

Figure 12. Marble statuette, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 497, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. VI, no. 5).

Figure 13. Marble sculpture, part of an Eros statue, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 464, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. V, no. 8).

Figure 14. Limestone statuette of Cybele, from Soloi-Cholades—find 446, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. IX, no. 6).

Figure 15. Limestone statuette of Cybele, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 418, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. XII, no. 5).

Figure 16. Limestone statuette of 'Isis', style II B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 427, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. XV, no. 5).

Figure 17. Limestone head of 'Isis', from Soloi-Cholades—find 314, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. IX, no. 2).

Figure 18. Limestone head of 'Isis', style II B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 320, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

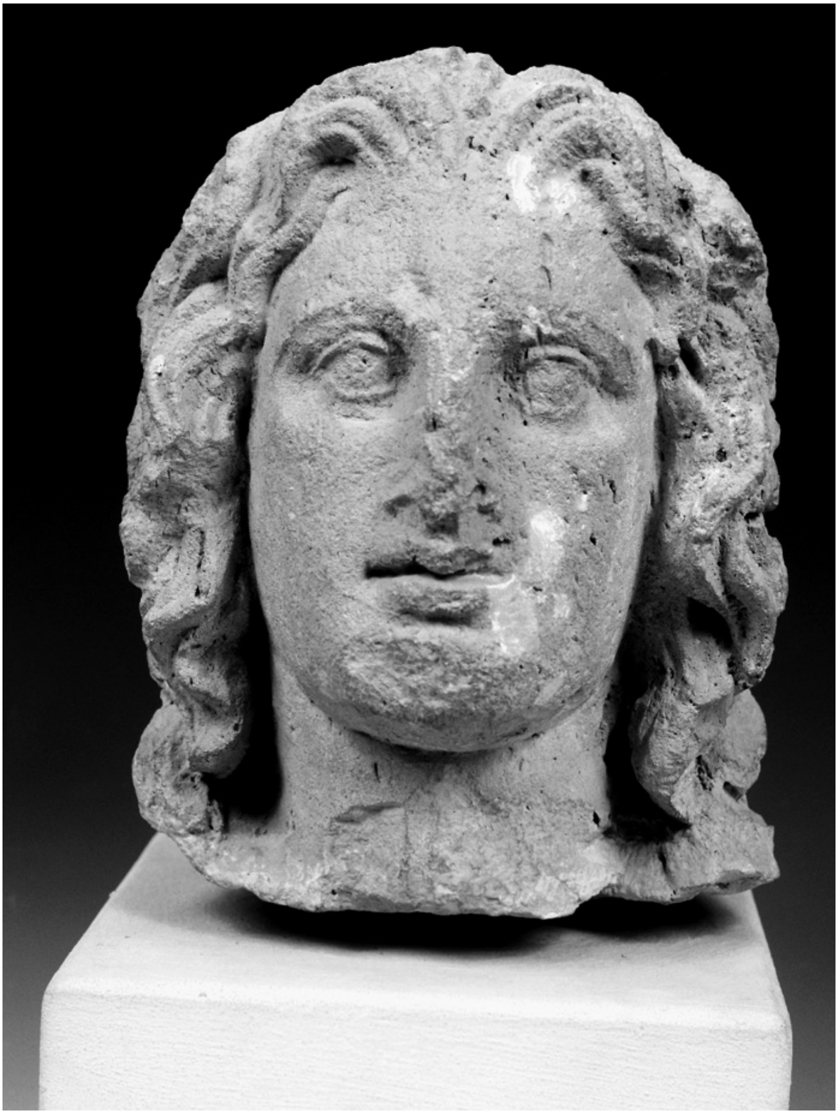

Figure 19. Limestone head of Alexander the Great, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 520, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 20. Limestone head, style I A, from Soloi-Cholades—find 457, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. II, no. 3).

Figure 21. Limestone sculpture of an eagle, style I A, from Soloi-Cholades—find 533, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. XI, no. 3).

Figure 22. Marble head, style I A, from Soloi-Cholades—find 425, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. I, no. 3).

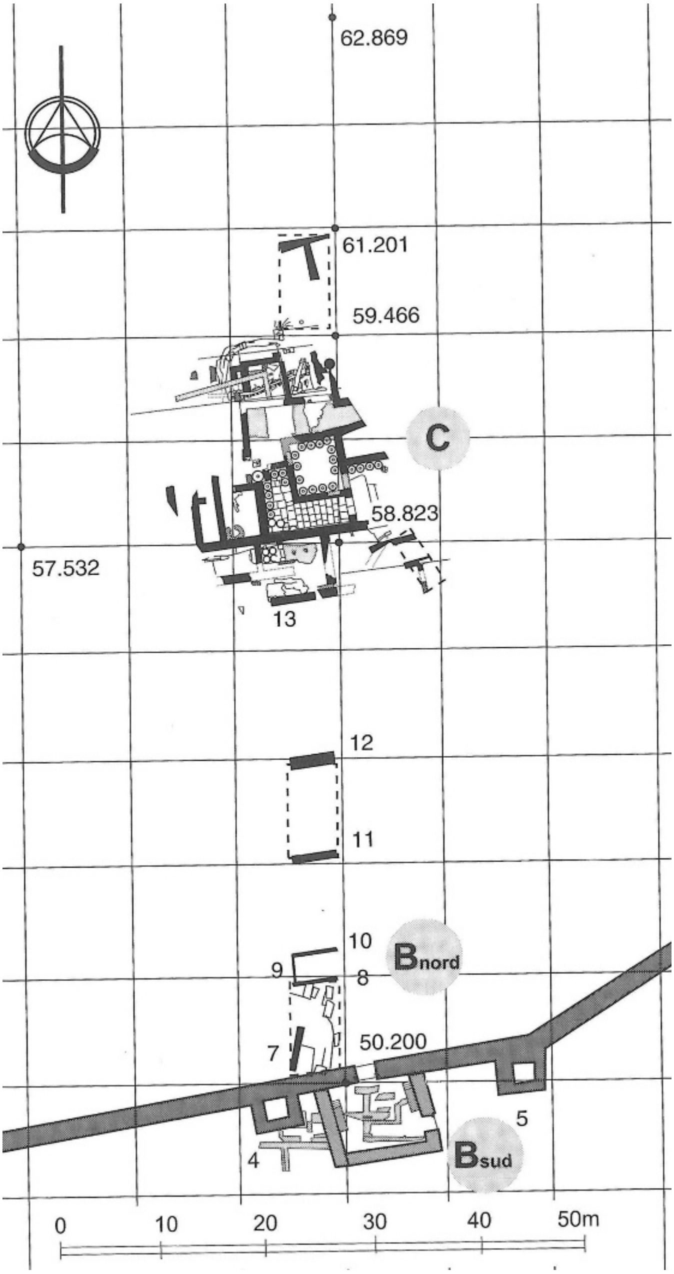

Figure 23. Plan of the Amathous 'palace' © École Française d'Athènes/M. Schmid/T. Koželj (Petit 2002, 319, fig. 2).

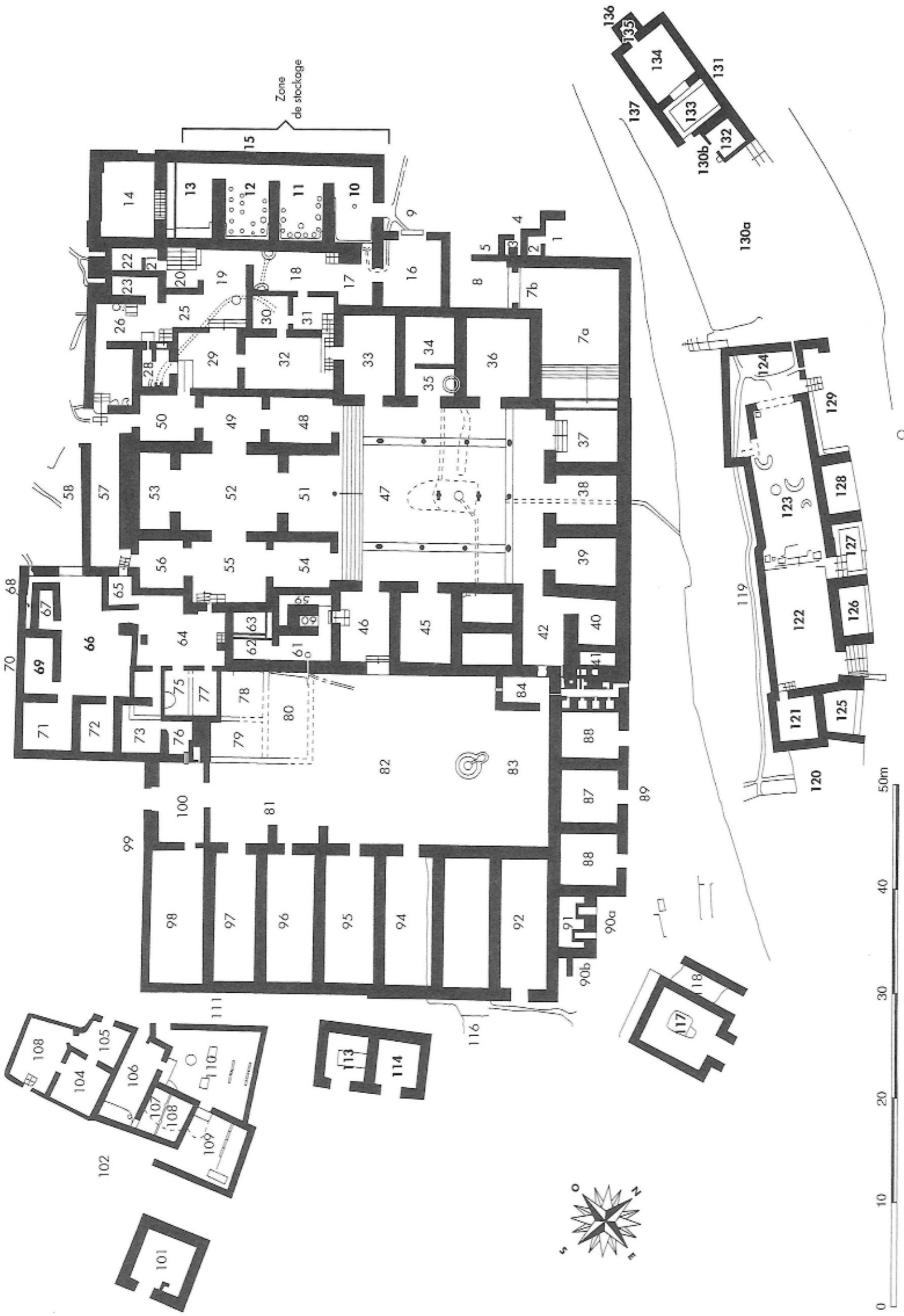

Figure 24. Plan of the Vouni 'palace' (Hermary 2001a, 18, fig. 2 after *SCE* 3, fig. 119).

Figure 25. Limestone 'Hathor' capital, from the '*Propylon*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 805, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

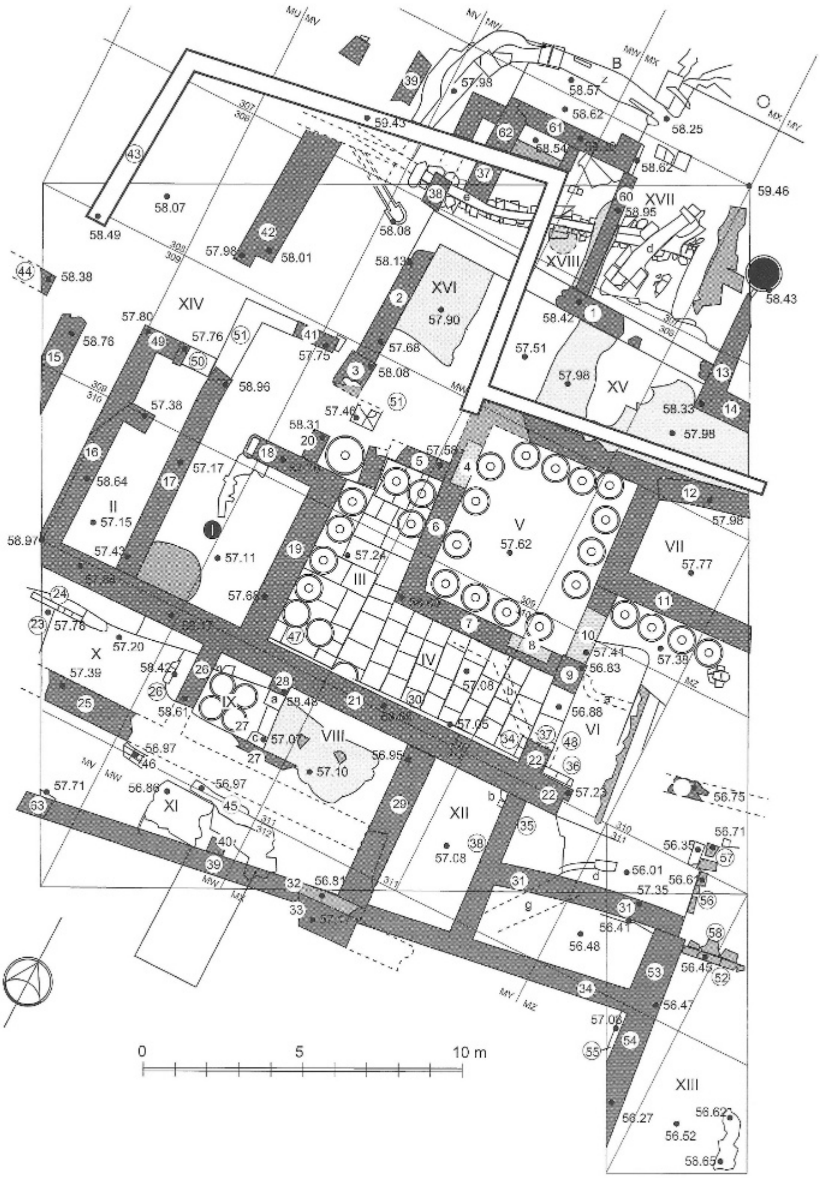

Figure 26. Plan of the Amathous ‘palace’ storerooms with the ‘Kouros’ sanctuary © École Française d’Athènes/M. Schmid/T. Koželj (Petit 2002, 320, fig. 5).

Figure 27. Limestone kouros, from the 'Kouros' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 1762, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

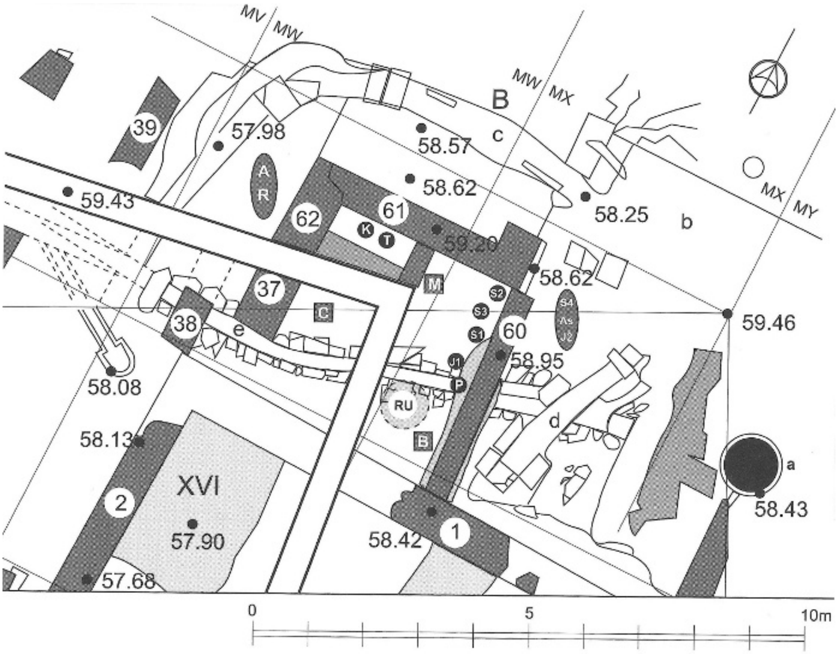

Figure 28. Plan of the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous © École Française d'Athènes/M. Schmid/T. Koželj (Petit 2002, 321, fig. 6).

Figure 29. Limestone statuette interpreted as 'priest with the mask', from the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 11, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 71, no. 877).

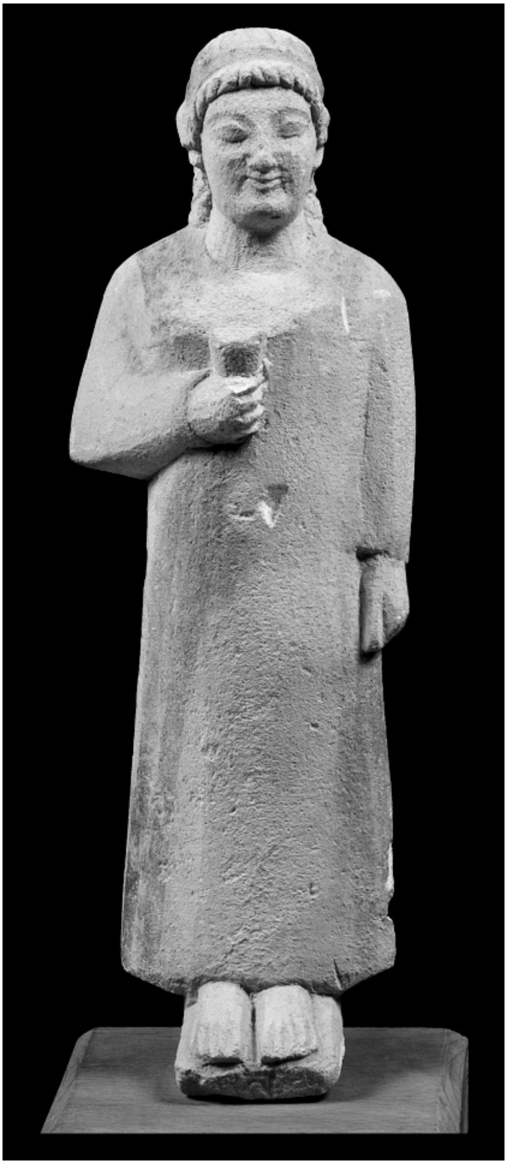

Figure 30. Limestone kore statuette holding a flower, from the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 16, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 31. Limestone kouros statuette, from the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 15, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 64, no. 846).

Figure 32. Limestone male head wearing a *mitra*, from the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 81, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 71, no. 878).

Figure 33. Limestone sphinx *thymiaterion*, from the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous—AM 12, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

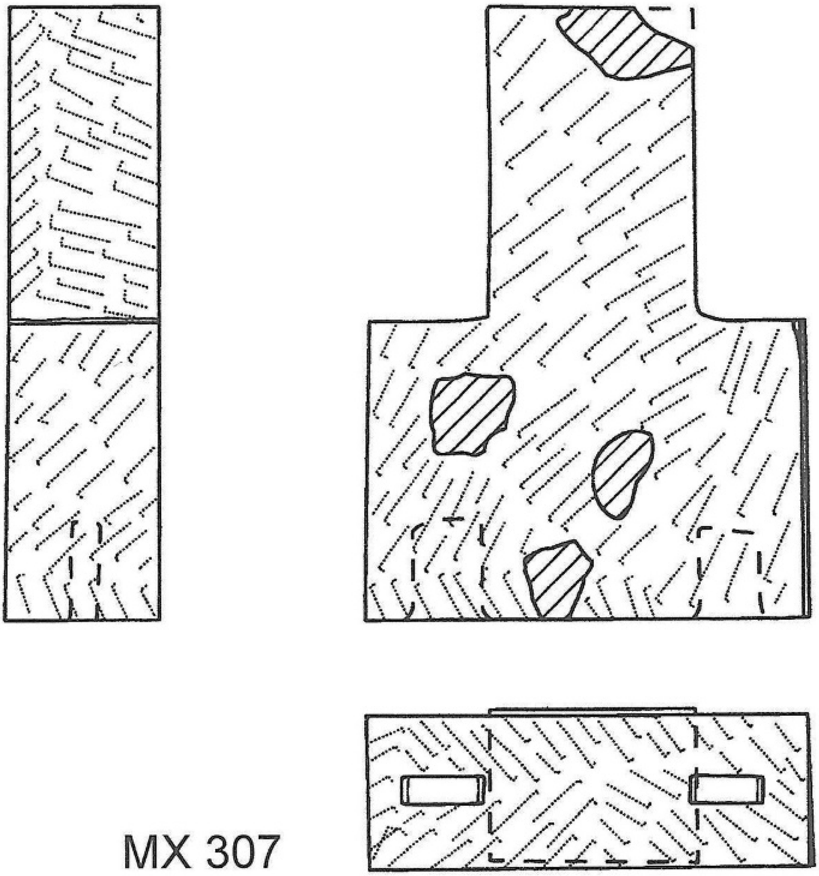

Figure 34. Drawing of stone in the form of *T*, found in the '*Baetyl*' 'palatial' sanctuary, Amathous © École Française d'Athènes/J. Humbert (after Petit 2002, 325, fig. 19).

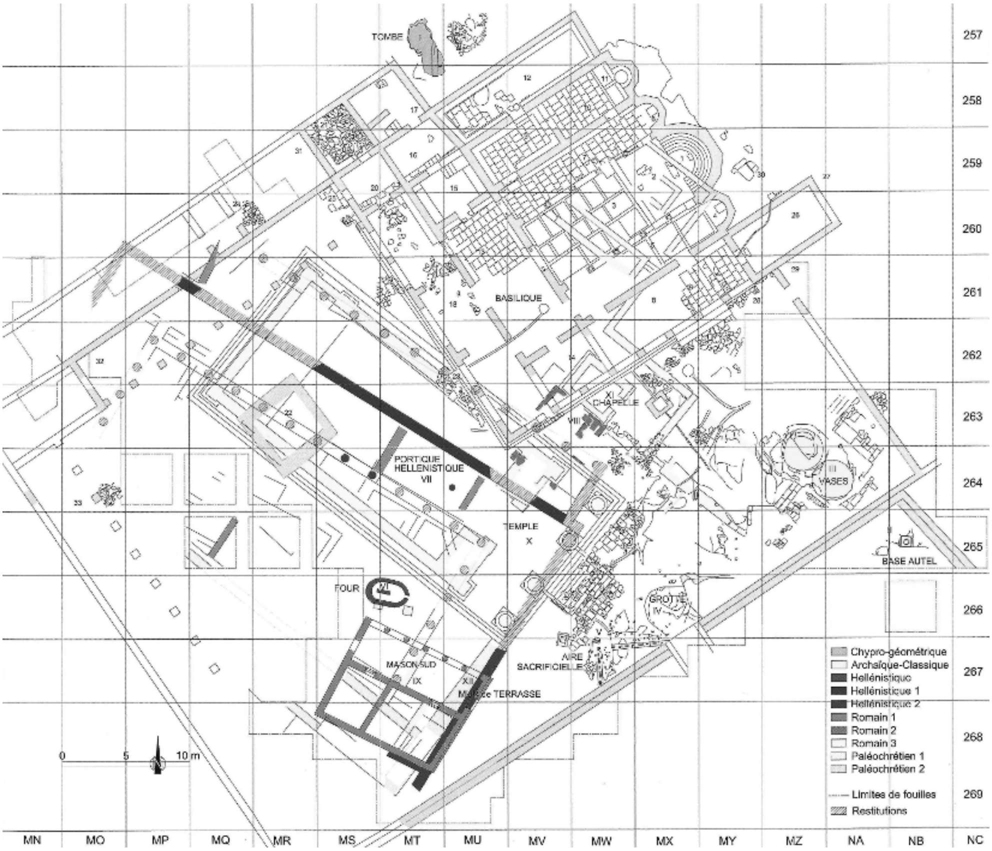

Figure 35. Plan of the Aphrodite sanctuary on the top of the Amathousian 'acropolis' © École Française d'Athènes/M. Schmid (Fourrier and Hermary 2006, fig. 3).

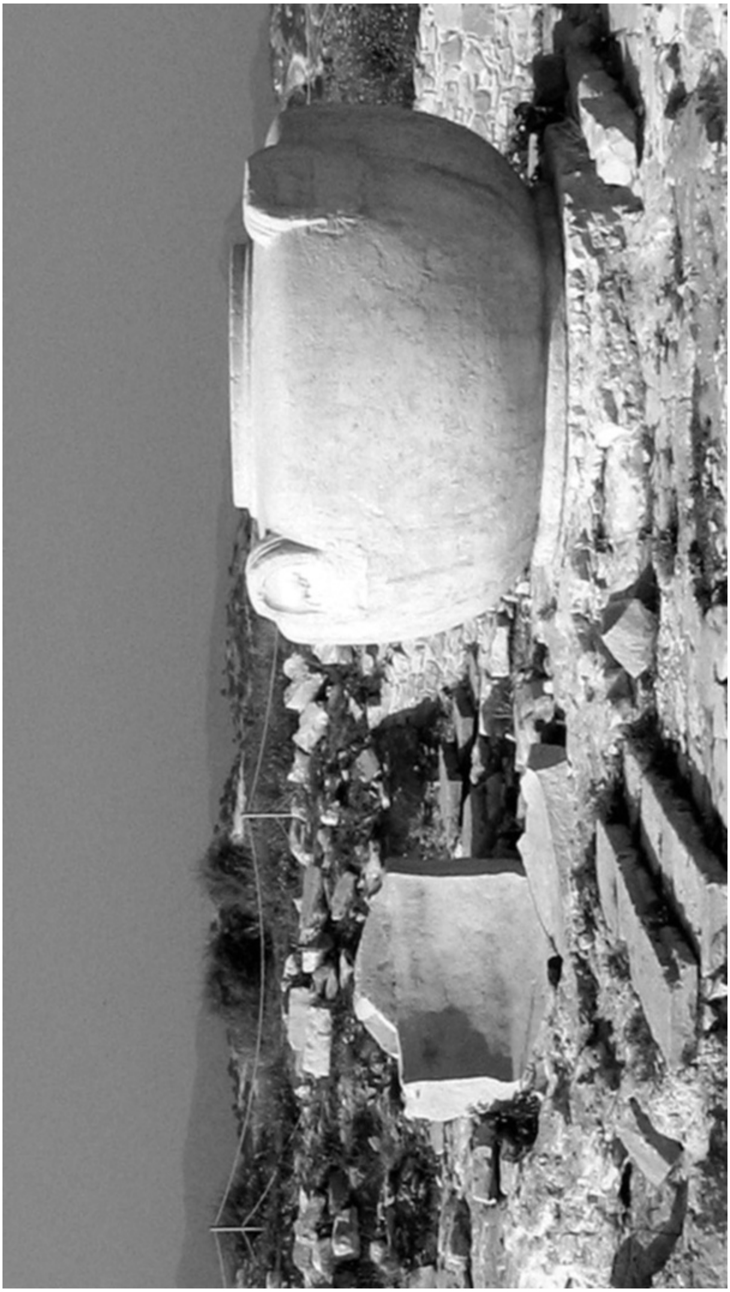

Figure 36. Copy of the colossal Louvre vase with its fragmentary one *in situ*, sanctuary of Aphrodite, Amathous (photo by author).

Figure 37. Bichrome krater with bulls, from the grotto, sanctuary of Aphrodite, Amathous—AM 1554, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 38. Limestone 'temple-boys' with a snake, from the 'subterranean cult place', Amathous—find 77, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 39. Figurine of the 'goddess with upraised arms', from Agios Tychonas, Amathous—Inv. No. 896/40, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 40. 'Astarte plaque', from the necropolis, Amathous—LM 704/82, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 41. Terracotta figurine representing a person holding a circular object, from the necropolis, Amathous—Inv. No. T.190/48, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Karageorghis, J. 2005, 96, fig. 91c).

Figure 42. Terracotta figurine representing a person playing the tambourine, from the deposit near the North Rampart, Amathous—AM 2601, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 4, no. 19).

Figure 43. Terracotta horseback rider figurine, from the deposit near the North Rampart, Amathous—AM 2606, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 12, no. 117).

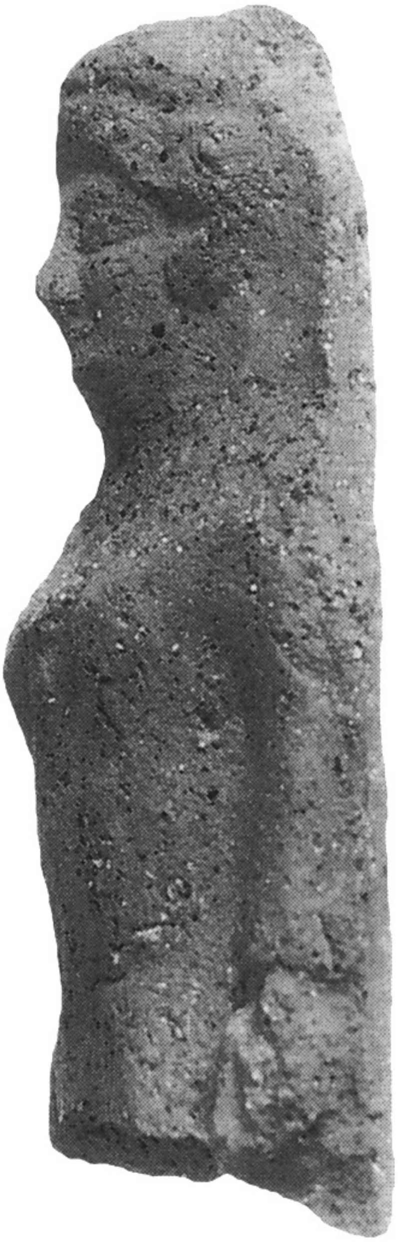

Figure 44. Kore figurine in the Cypriot tradition, from the 'palace', Amathous—AM 2527, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 40, no. 599).

Figure 45. Kore figurine imitating Greek types, from the North Rampart, Amathous—AM 2002, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 41, no. 608).

Figure 46. Terracotta figurine depicting a woman with a turreted crown, from the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Amathous—AM 361, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 49, no. 715).

Figure 47. Statue of Aphrodite with Eros, from a temple at Golgoi—74.51.2464, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

Figure 48. Terracotta figurine of Aphrodite dressed, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1000, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 3, no. 1).

Figure 49. Terracotta figurine of Aphrodite with one breast uncovered, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 987, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 4, no. 20).

Figure 50. Terracotta figurine of semi-naked Aphrodite resting on a pillar, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 949, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 51. Terracotta figurine of naked Aphrodite holding her breasts with her two hands, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 982, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 11, no. 96).

Figure 52. Terracotta figurine, restitution of the Aphrodite with Eros type, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous © École Française d'Athènes/S. Hartmann (Queyrel 1988, pl. 12).

Figure 53. Terracotta figurine of 'Cypriot Aphrodite', from the deposit MX 318—AM 1034, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 13, no. 116).

Figure 54. Terracotta Eros figurine, from the deposit MX 318—AM 1210, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 13, no. 127).

Figure 55. Terracotta figurine depicting Eros and Psyche, from the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Amathous—AM 2455, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Hermary 2000a, pl. 53, no. 755).

Figure 56. Terracotta figurine of Isis, type 1, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 893, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 14, no. 128).

Figure 57. Terracotta figurine of Isis, type 2, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 916, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 19, no. 167).

Figure 58. Terracotta figurine of Isis' priest, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1062, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 38, no. 377).

Figure 59. Terracotta figurine of Artemis as *dadophoros*, from the 'subterranean cult place', Amathous—find 127, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 60. Terracotta figurine of Attis, from the deposit MX 318—AM 1028, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Queyrel 1988, pl. 27, no. 250).

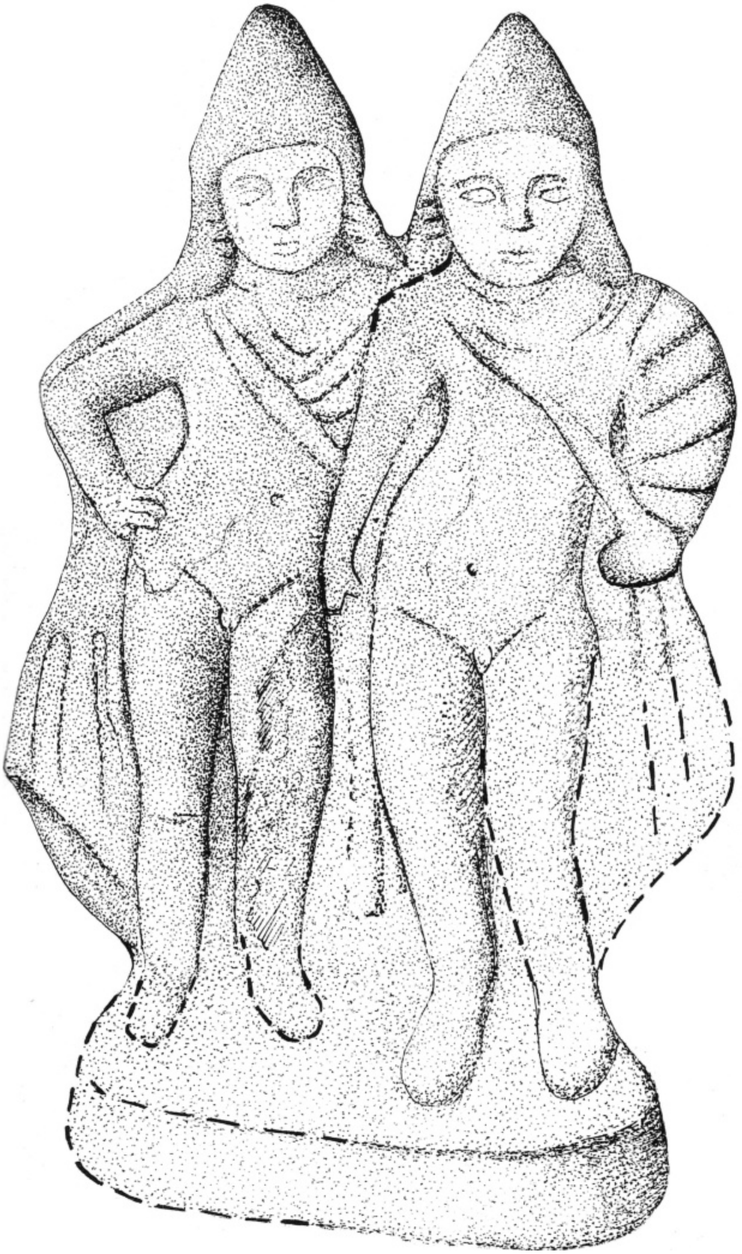

Figure 61. Terracotta figurine, restitution of the Dioscuri group, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous © École Française d'Athènes/S. Hartmann (Queyrel 1988, pl. 25).

Figure 62. *Kourotrophos* terracotta figurine, from the deposit MX 318—AM 1103. Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (Queyrel 1988, pl. 28, no. 260).

Figure 63. Terracotta figurine representing a woman playing the *trigonon*, from the deposit MX 318—AM 1091, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (Queyrel 1988, pl. 29, no. 271).

Figure 64. Teracotta figurine representing a woman playing the tambourine, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1093, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (Queyrel 1988, pl. 30, no. 289).

Figure 65. Terracotta figurine representing a female dancer, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1069, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 66. Terracotta figurine depicting a woman with a veil, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1088, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (Queyrel 1988, pl. 34, no. 333).

Figure 67. Terracotta figurine of an *hydrophoros*, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1108, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (Queyrel 1988, pl. 34, no. 337).

Figure 68. Terracotta figurine of a cult agent with her hands in hieratic pose, from the deposit MX 318, Amathous—AM 1051, Limassol District Museum © The Department of Antiquities (Queyrel 1988, pl. 36, no. 348).

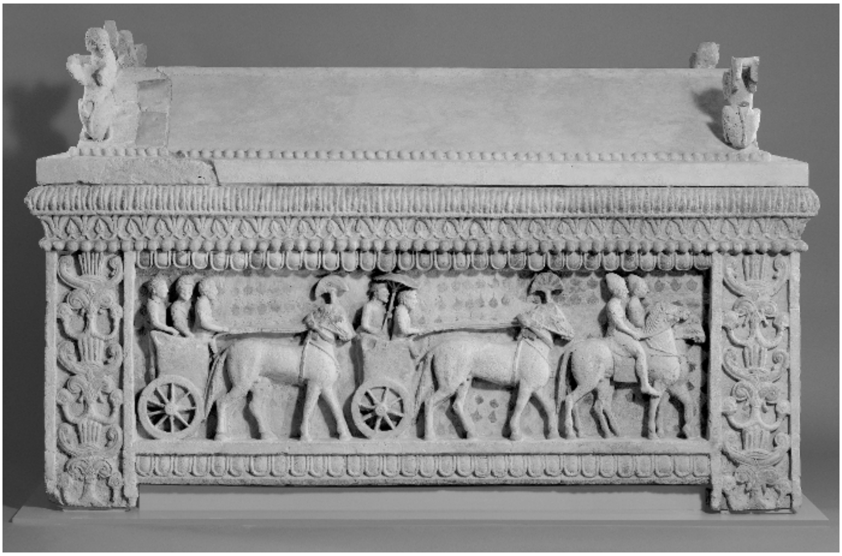

Figure 69. Amathous sarcophagus—74.51.2453, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

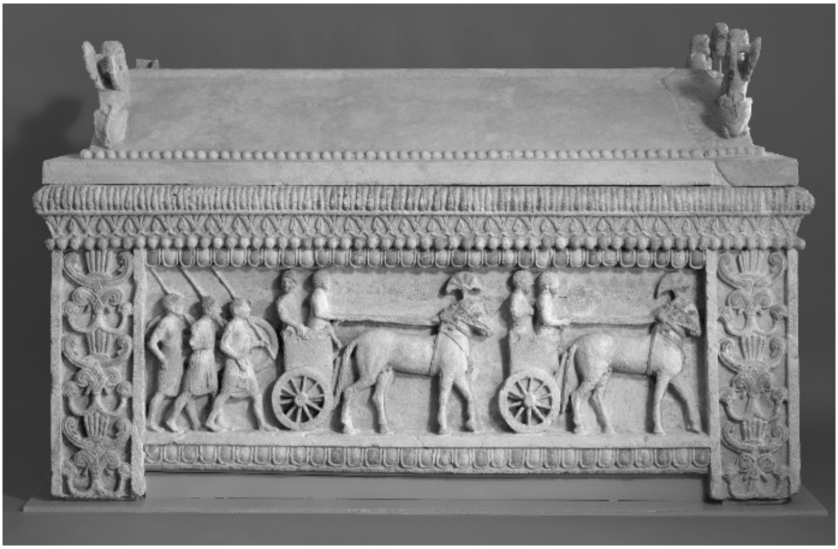

Figure 69 (*continued*).

Figure 69 (*continued*).

Figure 69 (*continued*).

Figure 70. Incense burner with a winged female, from Voni—Inv. No. I 602, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna © Kunsthistorisches Museum (courtesy of the Museum).

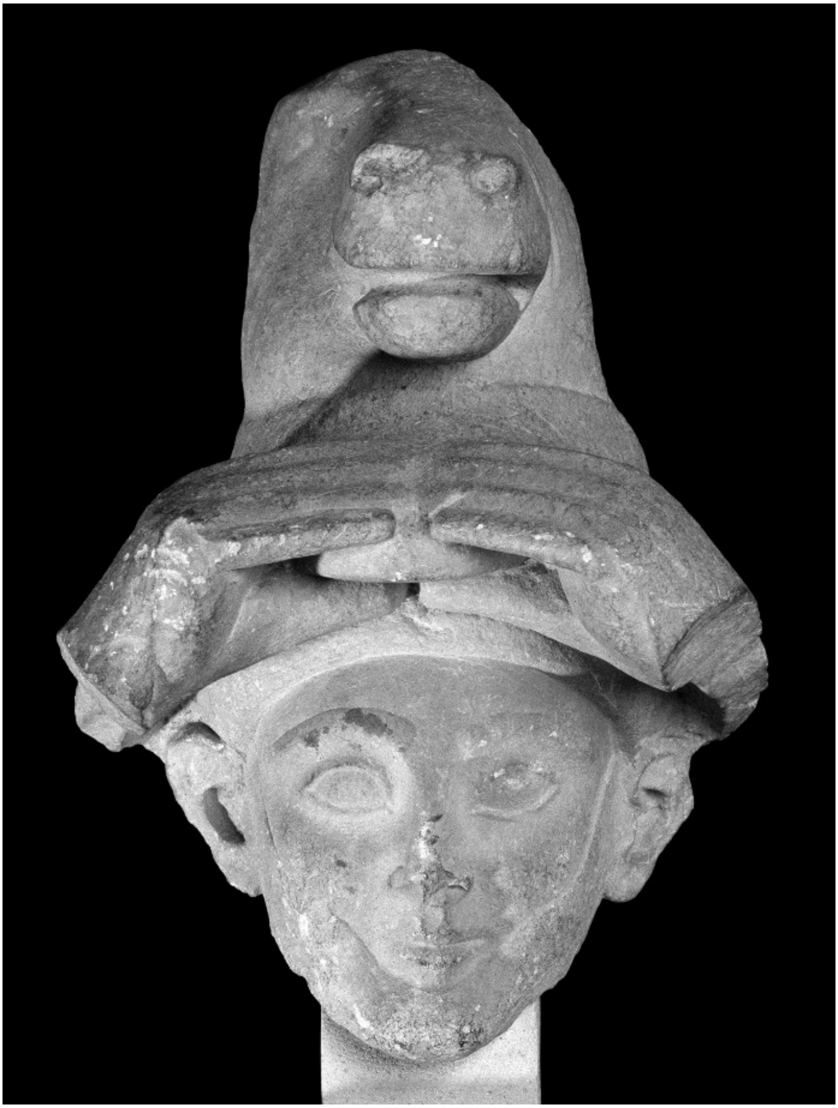

Figure 71. Limestone head representing a dignitary wearing a bull's mask, from a temple at Golgoi—AM 2758, Lourve Museum, Paris © Louvre Museum.

Figure 72. Limestone statue of a person holding a mask in the form of a bull's head, from a temple at Golgoi—74.51.2463, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

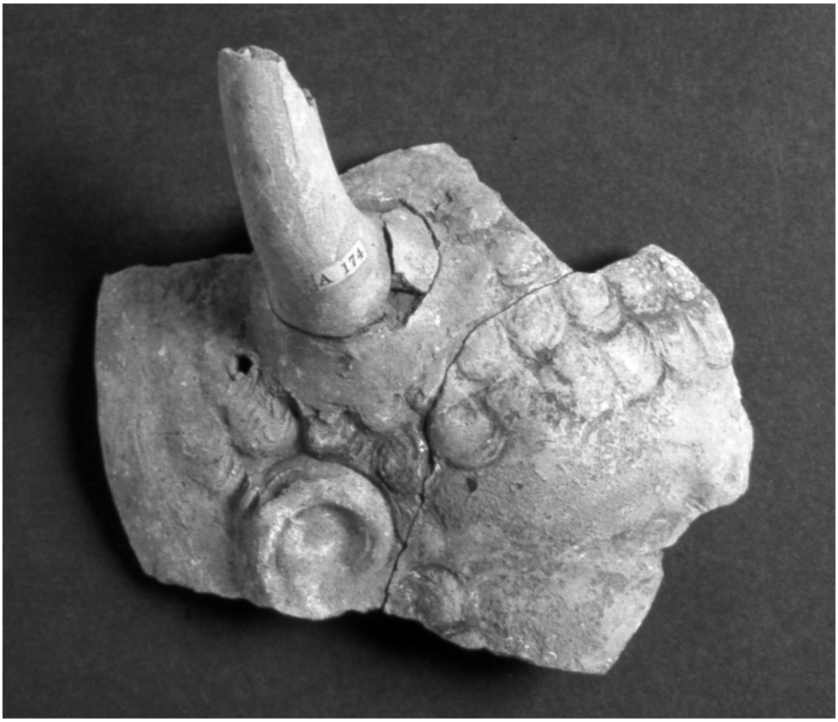

Figure 73. Terracotta mask representing a horned and bearded male, from Amathous—GR 1894.1101.202, British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum.

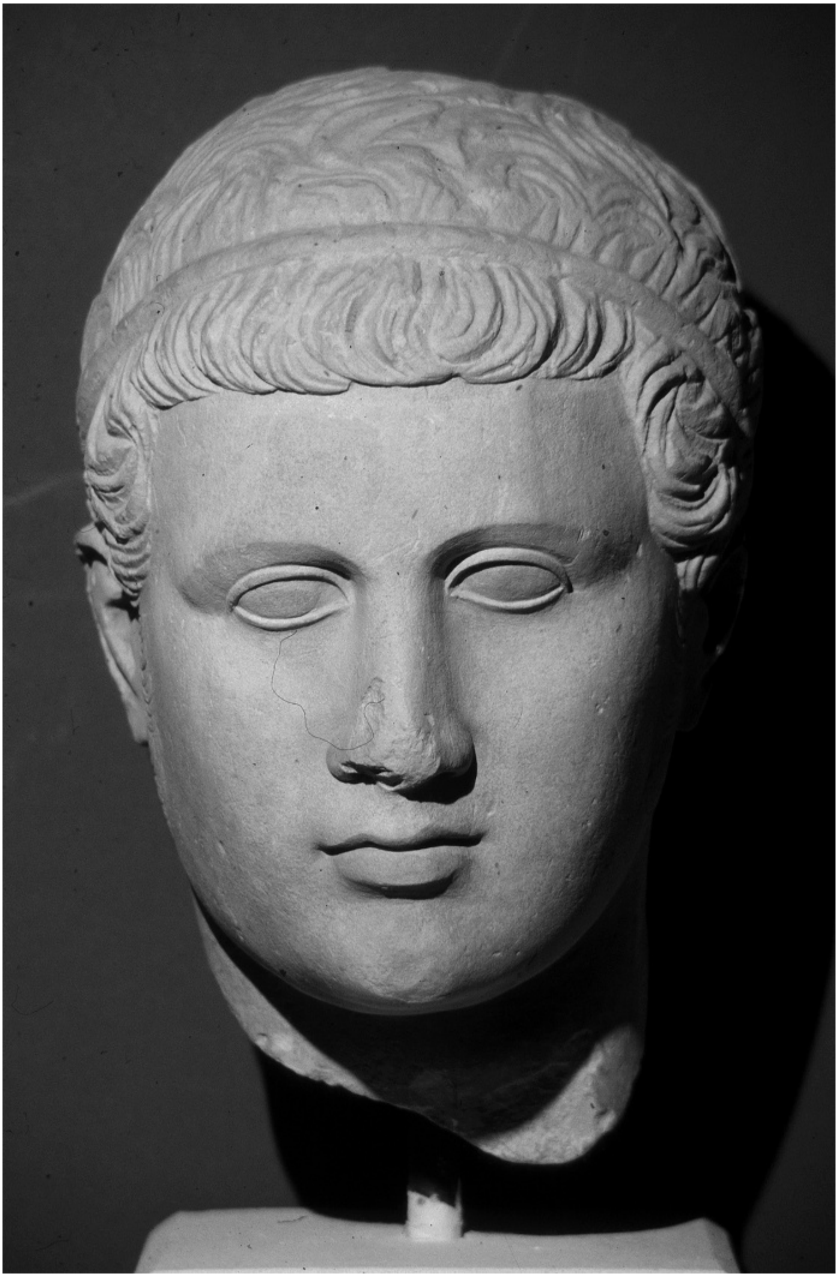

Figure 74. Limestone head, from Arsos—E 501, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

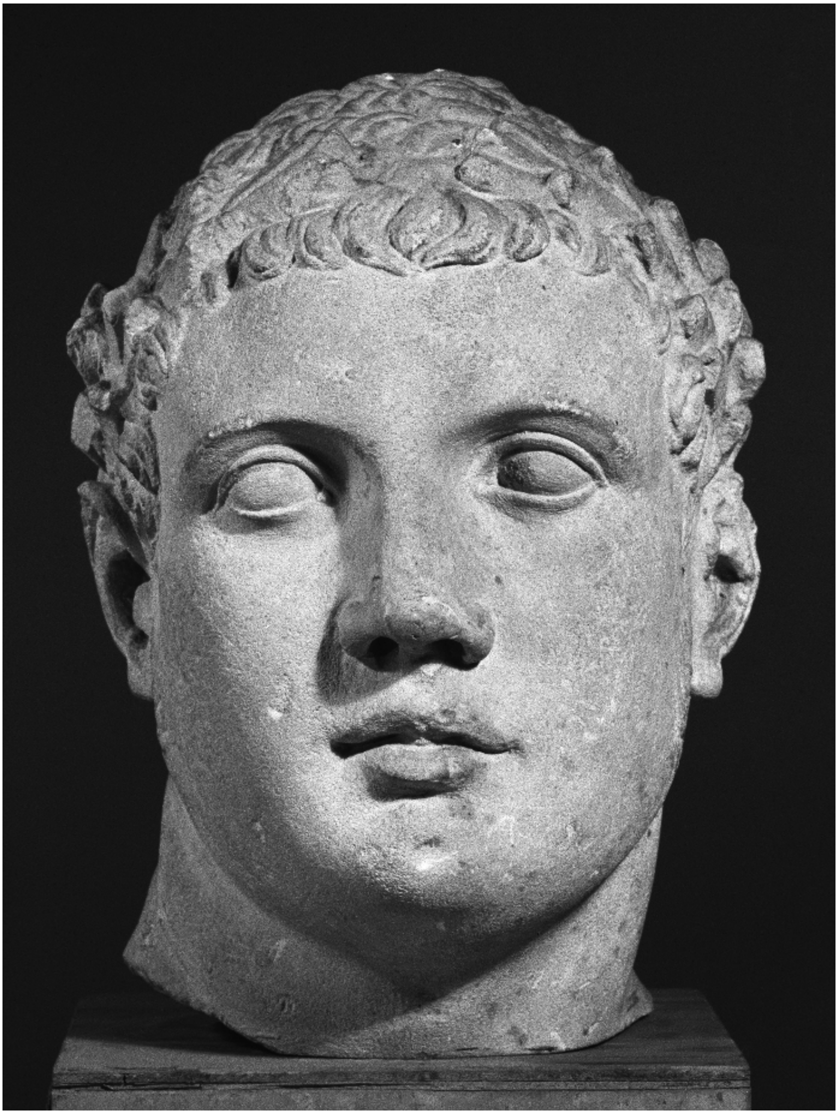

Figure 75. Limestone head, from a temple at Golgoi—744.51.2817, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

Figure 76. Ptolemaic silver coin, from Cyprus—BCCF 2003-04-03, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia © Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (Zapiti-Michaelidou 2007, 130, no. 34).

Figure 77. Louvre *Soter*, no provenance—MA 849,
Louvre Museum, Paris © Louvre Museum.

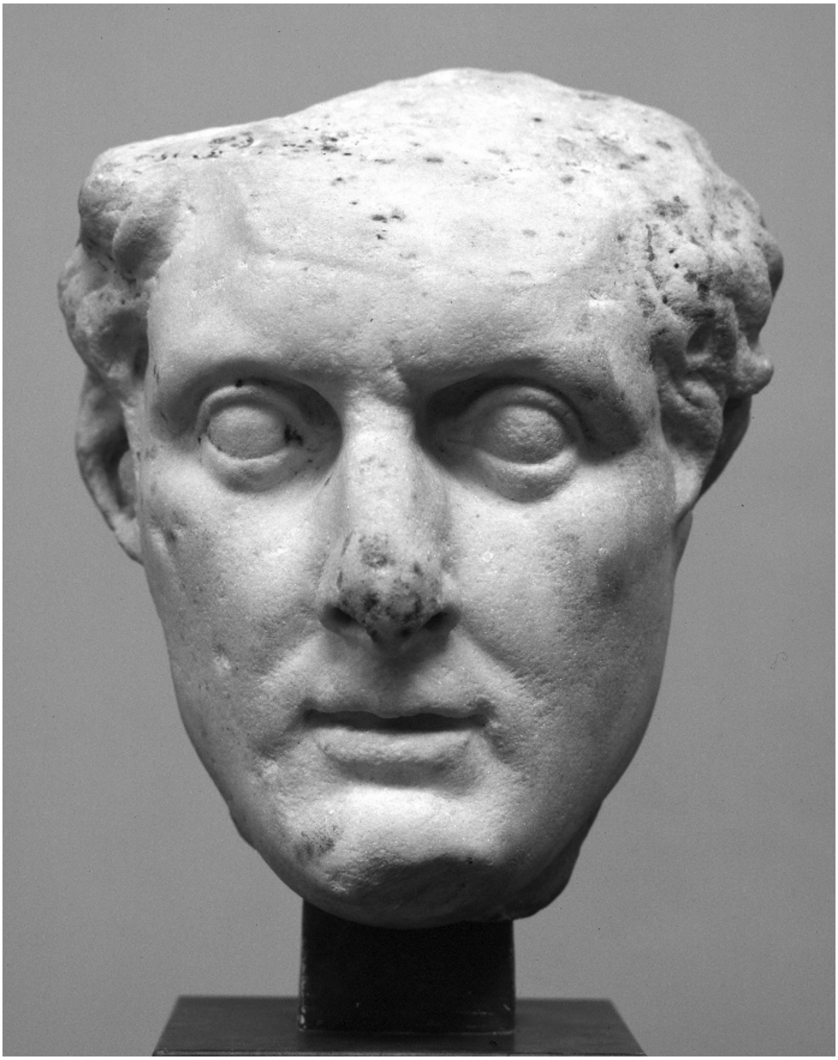

Figure 78. Copenhagen *Soter*, no provenance—Inv. No. 2300, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (courtesy of the Museum).

Figure 79. Limestone sculpture, from Voni—E 513, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director and Connelly 1988, pl. 20, fig. 77).

Figure 79 (*continued*).

Figure 80. Ptolemaic gold coin of Ptolemy IV, from Alexandria—GR 1872.0709.359, British Museum, London, © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 81. Limestone head, from Arsos—D 282, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia
© The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 82. Ptolemaic gold coin depicting Arsinoe *Philadelphus*, from Cyprus—BCCF 1992-04-01, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia © Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (Zapiti and Michaelidou 2007, 127, no. 21).

Figure 83. Limestone sculpture, from Arsos—Inv. No. 655, Larnaka District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 84. Limestone sculpture, from Arsos—Inv. No. 659, Larnaka District Museum © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

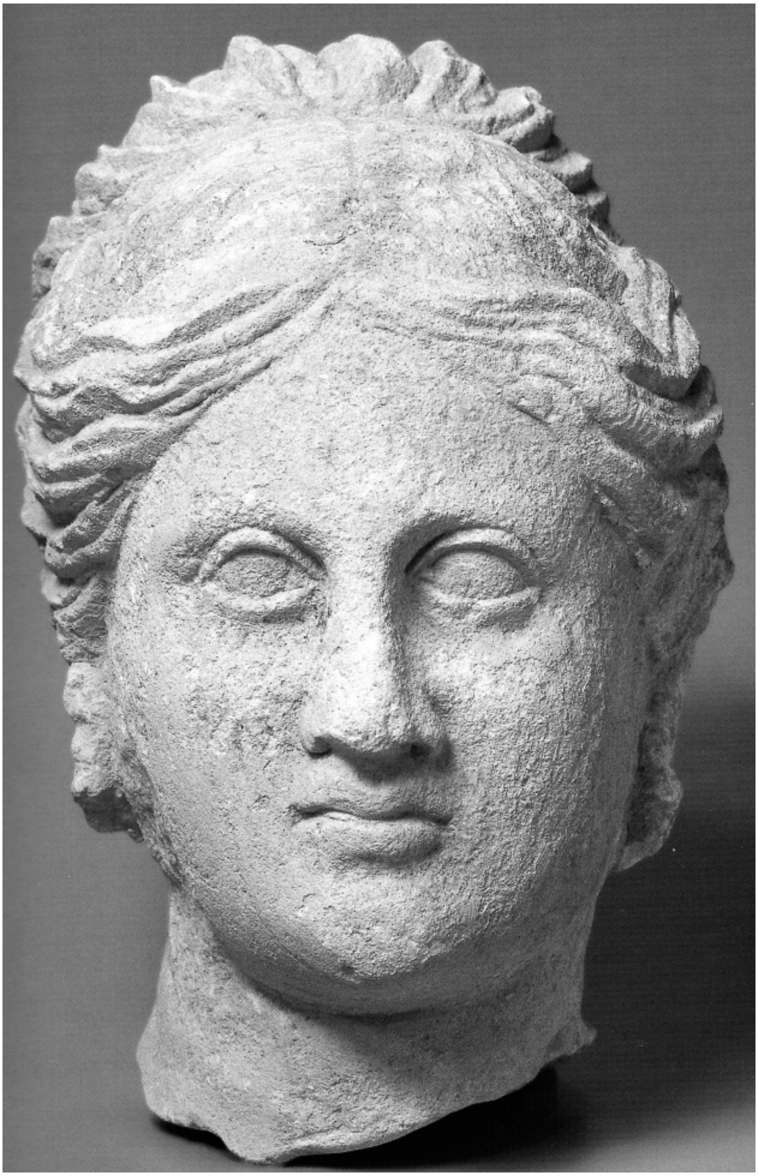

Figure 85. Limestone sculpture, no provenance—GP 1999-262, The Collection of George and Nefeli Giambra Pierides, Larnaka © Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (Karageorghis 2002b, 201, no. 262).

Figure 86. Limestone sculpture, from Larnaka (undocumented)—GR 1917.0701.171, British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 87. Limestone sculpture, from Voni—E 514, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia © The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director and Connelly 1988, pl. 22, fig. 85).

Figure 87 (*continued*).

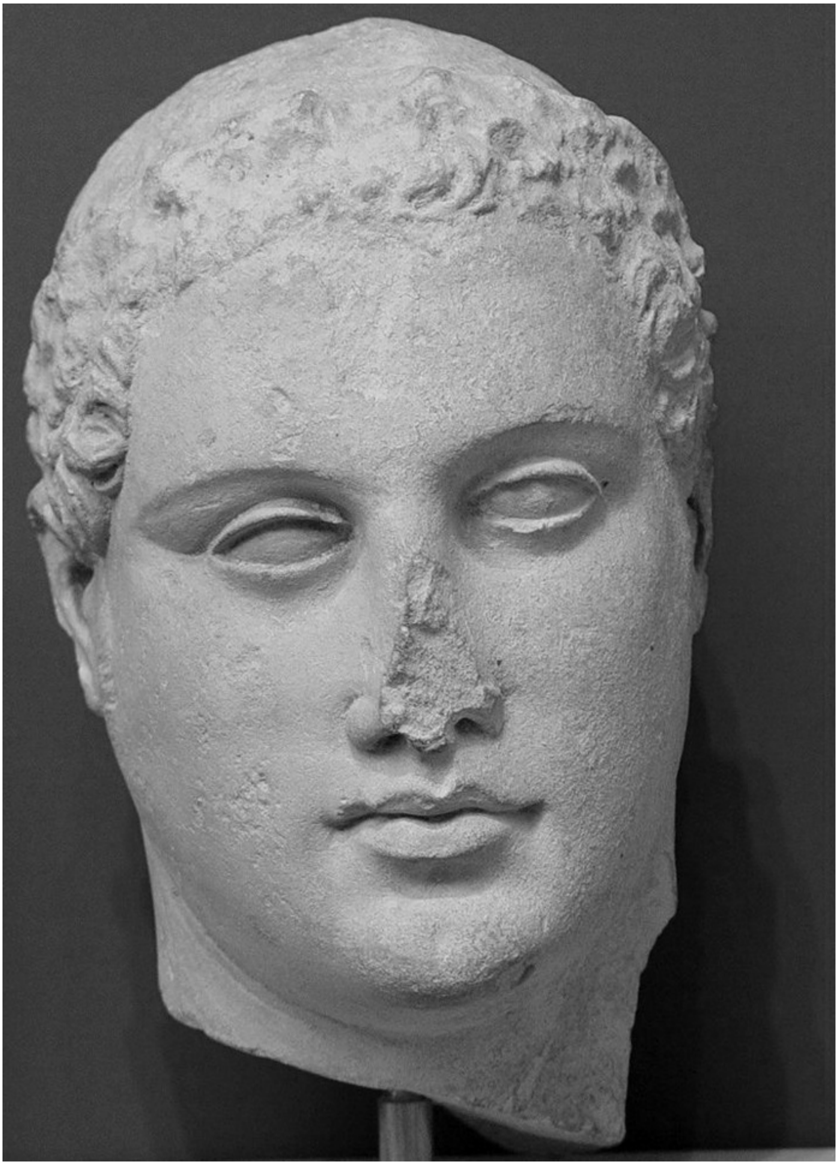

Figure 88. Limestone sculpture, from Idalion—GR 1872.0816.11, British Museum, London © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 89. Limestone sculpture, no provenance—IN 2746, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen © Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (courtesy of the Museum).

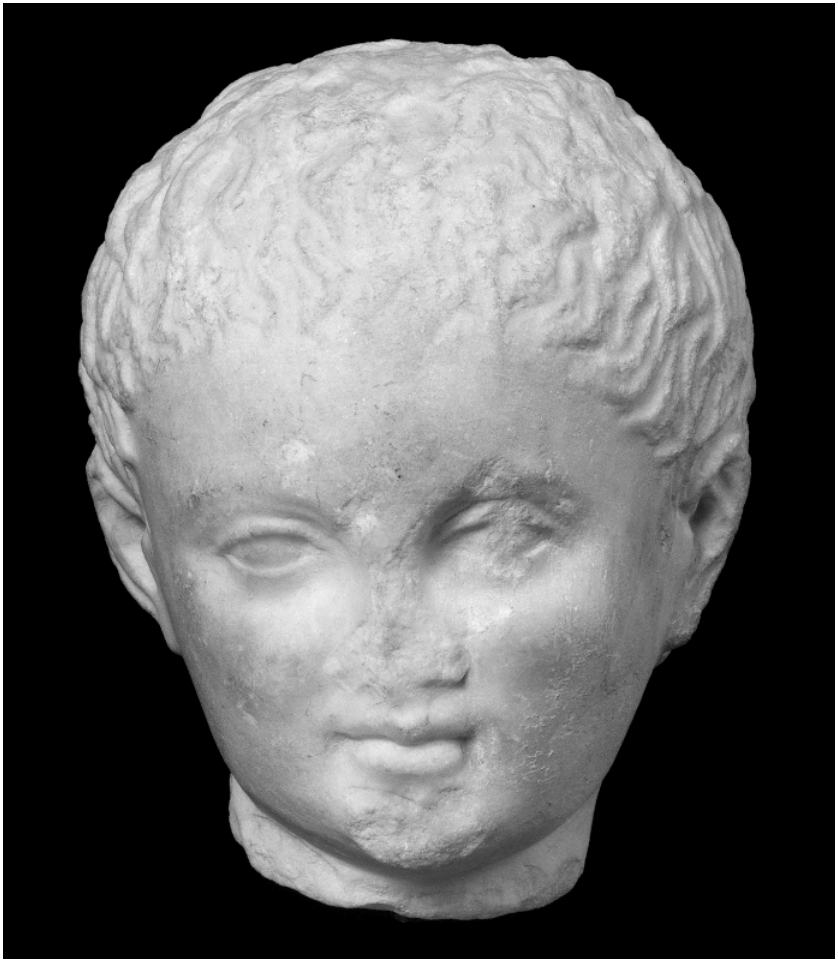

Figure 90. Marble head, from the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Amathous—AM 690, Limasssol District Museum © Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 91. Hirsch queen, probably from Alexandria (undocumented)—private collection (Smith 1988, pl. 37, fig. 2).

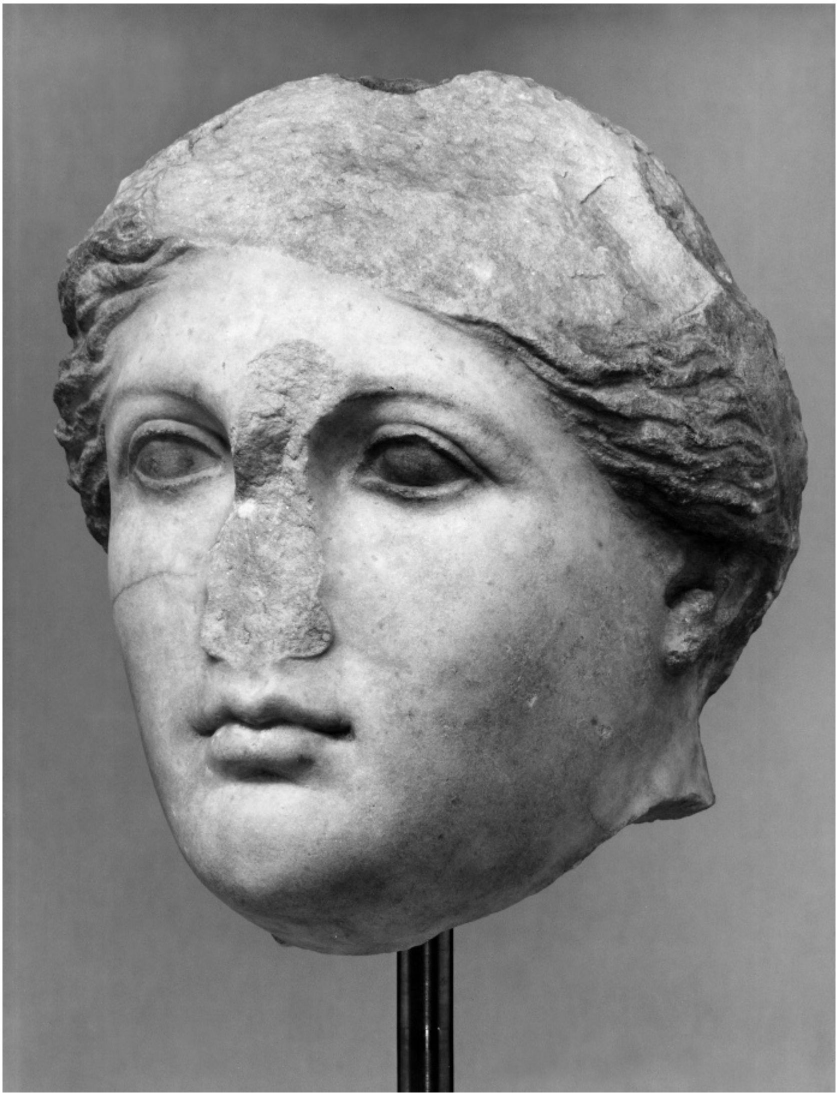

Figure 92. Kassel queen, probably from Alexandria (undocumented)—Sk. 115, Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel © Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel (courtesy of the Museum).

Figure 93. Marble sculpture, style I A, from Soloi-Cholades—find 532, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia ©The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. II, no. 1).

Figure 94. Limestone sculpture, style I B, from Soloi-Cholades—find 522, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia ©The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (Westholm 1936, pl. XIII, no. 4).

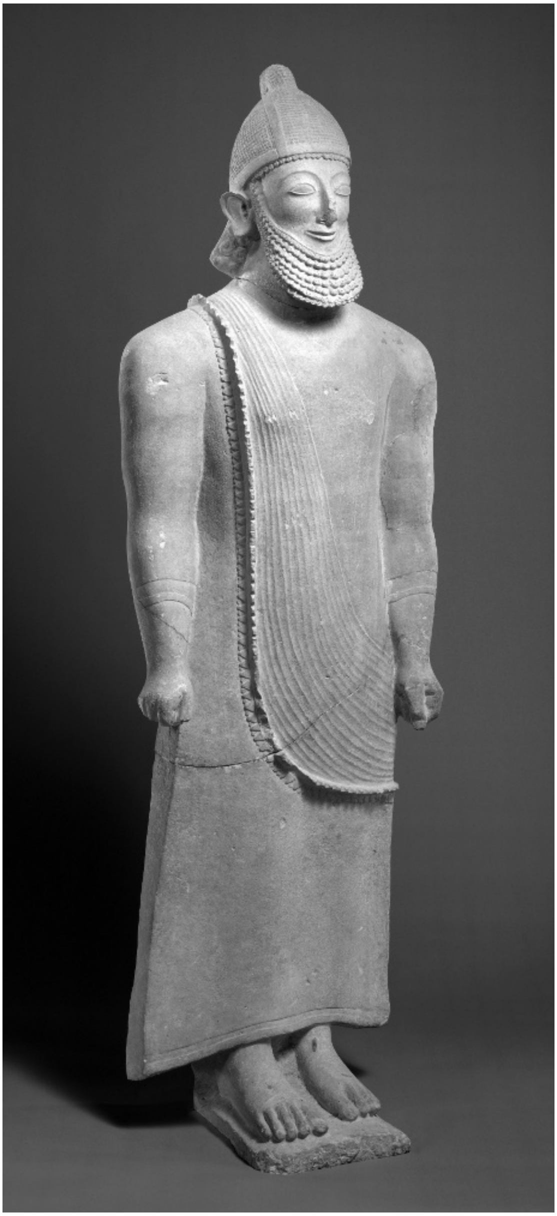

Figure 95. Cypro-Archaic limestone sculpture, from a temple at Golgoi—74.51.2460, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

Figure 96. Cypro-Archaic limestone sculpture, the ‘priest’ with the dove, from a temple at Golgoi—74.51.2466, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

Figure 97. Cypro-Classical limestone sculpture of a male, from Voni—C 14328-Inc. S 101, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia; the wooden table in his left hand with an inscription, which identifies him as Kilikas ©The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (courtesy of the Director).

Figure 97 (*continued*).

Figure 98. Cypro-Classical limestone sculpture, from a temple at Golgoi—74.51.2461, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cesnola Collection, Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art (courtesy of the Museum).

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